

Pompeii and Herculaneum

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POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

A SOURCEBOOK



ALISON E. COOLEY AND M. G. L. COOLEY

Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World

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The original edition of *Pompeii: A Sourcebook* was a crucial resource for students of the site. Now updated to include material from Herculaneum, the neighbouring town also buried in the eruption of Vesuvius, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook* allows readers to form a richer and more diverse picture of urban life on the Bay of Naples.

Focusing upon inscriptions and ancient texts, it translates and sets into context a representative sample of the huge range of source material uncovered in these towns. From the labels on wine jars to scribbled insults, and from advertisements for gladiatorial contests to love poetry, the individual chapters explore the early history of Pompeii and Herculaneum, their destruction, leisure pursuits, politics, commerce, religion, the family and society. Information about Pompeii and Herculaneum from authors based in Rome is included, but the great majority of sources come from the cities themselves, written by their ordinary inhabitants – men and women, citizens and slaves.

Incorporating the latest research and finds from the two cities and enhanced with more photographs, maps and plans, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook* offers an invaluable resource for anyone studying or visiting the sites.

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POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

A SOURCEBOOK

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*Alison E. Cooley and
M.G.L. Cooley*

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*For Emma and Paul, who enjoyed the stepping-stones
in the torrential rain at Pompeii*

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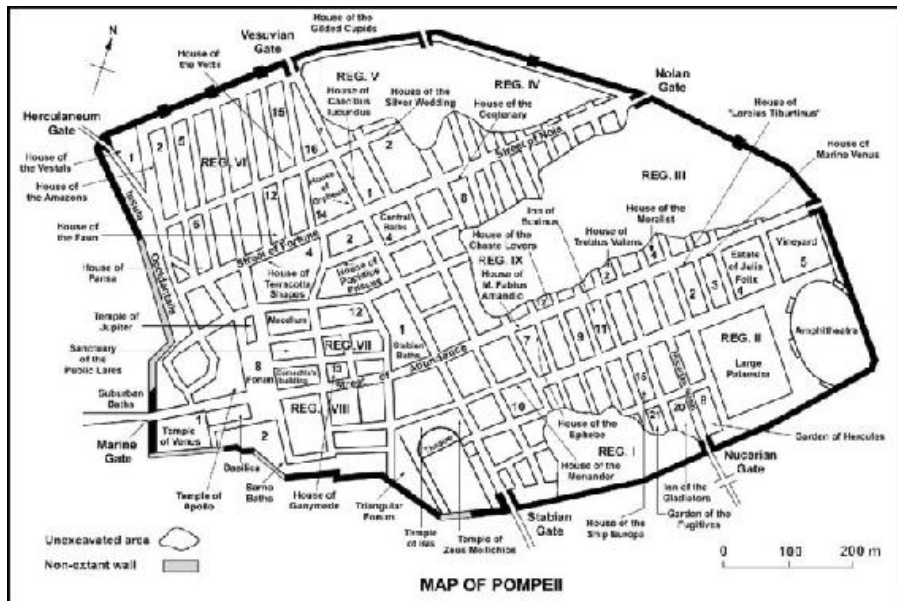
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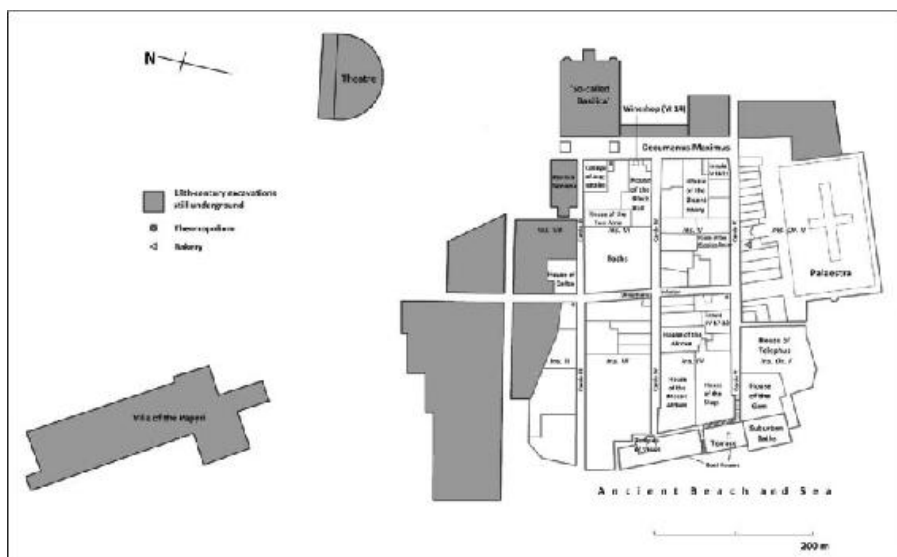
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ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>Année Epigraphique</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
GC	Giordano, C. and Casale, A. (1991) ‘Iscrizioni pompeiane inedite scoperte tra gli anni 1954–1978’, <i>Atti della Accademia Pontaniana</i> n.s. 39: 273–378
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>Imagines Italicae</i>	<i>Imagines Italicae. A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions</i> 2 vols, ed. M.H. Crawford (2011: London: BICS Suppl. 110)
JIWE	<i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. I. Italy (excluding the City of Rome), Spain and Gaul</i> , ed. D. Noy, (1993: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
MANN inv.	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inventory number
NHP	<i>The Natural History of Pompeii</i> , eds W.F. Jashemski and F.G. Meyer (2002: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
PAH	<i>Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia</i> , 3 vols, ed. G. Fiorelli (1860–64: Naples)
TH	<i>Tabulae Herculenses</i>



Map 1 Map of Pompeii



Map 2 Map of Herculaneum

INTRODUCTION

Pompeii and Herculaneum

Neither Pompeii nor Herculaneum was a particularly significant Roman town. Even within the region of Campania, they were not as large or as important as Naples or Puteoli; not as fashionable as Baiae or Stabiae; not as strategically important as Misenum, nor as celebrated in literature as Cumae. No inhabitant of Pompeii or Herculaneum made a significant impact on Roman literature or politics. No crucial moments in Rome's history hinge upon them.

Although the names of the two towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum are often spoken in the same breath because of their shared fate, destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in October/November AD 79, the cities themselves were quite distinct from each other in terms of their size and society. In fact, fundamental differences are immediately apparent even in their archaeological record, because although destroyed by the same eruption, the process of destruction was quite different in the two cases. The town of Herculaneum, a mere 6 kilometres from the crater of the volcano, suffered speedy destruction in the early hours of the second day of the eruption, as the tremendous pyroclastic blasts and surges swept down the mountainside, engulfing the town and its inhabitants. Pompeii was destroyed a few hours later on the same day as the third of six surges reached the northern wall of the town, with the final three surges then overwhelming the rest of the town too. These details are not just of antiquarian interest, since the differing processes of destruction had a direct impact upon the archaeological record. In the case of Herculaneum, the searing temperatures of the surges carbonized wooden furniture and wax tablets. At Pompeii, the upper storeys of buildings were first damaged by volcanic fallout before the surges then completed the town's annihilation. It is often suggested that whereas Herculaneum disappeared completely under some 20 metres of volcanic deposits that then solidified, some of Pompeii's outline may still have been visible in the aftermath of the eruption. Certainly, the site of Pompeii was plundered extensively after the eruption, both immediately and through many centuries, before official excavations actually began there in 1748. Recent investigations have also revealed that Herculaneum's deep sleep also did not remain undisturbed, and traces of medieval tunnelling through the site show that the popular impression of a town that lay undisturbed until Prince d'Elboeuf stumbled across the theatre in 1710 should now be cast to one side. Neither city presents us with a potential time-capsule of life frozen at one moment, despite popular images of bread still baking in an oven, and paint pots

complete with their pigments where fresco-workers abandoned them. It is not the case that, if only the right archaeological techniques were used, we could gain a full picture of daily life in Roman times, in towns frozen at the moments of their destruction.

The other major difference between the two towns is one of scale. Whereas Pompeii may have had a population of roughly 10,000–12,000 inhabitants over an area of some 66 hectares, Herculaneum had a much smaller population, of around only 4,000 inhabitants, covering approximately 20 hectares. Pompeii's urban origins extend back into the sixth century BC, whereas Herculaneum was founded only in the fourth century. Both towns fought against Rome in the Social War in the early first century BC, but whereas Pompeii then became a *colonia*, Herculaneum remained only a *municipium*. The chronology of their respective urban development too was radically different, with Pompeii experiencing a notable boom in public and private architecture during the second century BC. Herculaneum, by contrast, had to wait until the Augustan period at the end of the following century for a similar boom. For visitors to the two sites today, Herculaneum seems to be dominated by private dwellings, whereas Pompeii has a much richer diversity in architecture on display. Some of these differences are real and not just apparent: Herculaneum had no amphitheatre, for example. Nevertheless, it is essential to appreciate that Herculaneum's major public buildings, including its Forum, market, theatre and basilica, remain underground.

Our purpose in writing this sourcebook is to allow the inhabitants of the two towns to speak for themselves. Some of the written sources in this book – the inscriptions carved in stone on public and private monuments – were intended to perpetuate the memory of the individuals concerned, and, even if Vesuvius had not exploded, a few would probably have survived into modern times like the thousands of stone inscriptions from other parts of the Roman empire. But the great majority of the documents in this sourcebook were not ‘written in stone’ literally or metaphorically. They include notices to advertise gladiatorial games and endorsements of candidates in the local elections, written in paint upon walls; business records and legal documents carefully stored away on wax tablets; graffiti scratched upon walls for a purpose and casual scribbles. These are the documents that Pompeii and Herculaneum preserve on a unique scale.

Oddly, these documents are considerably less accessible to most people than the site of Pompeii itself. They are published in mighty tomes available in university libraries, without translation, often without transcription and with commentary in Latin. The aim of our sourcebook is to make accessible a representative sample of this material to pupils studying GCSE and A level Classical Civilization and their teachers, to university students, and to the visitor to the site who perhaps notices some of the Latin writing around the site and is intrigued to find out what it means, or who simply wants to learn more about the life of the people in Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Notes on literary authors

- Appian** wrote a history of Rome's civil wars in Greek during the second century AD.
- Cicero** 106–43 BC; statesman and orator, who wrote prolifically. His letters to his close friend Atticus, not originally written for publication, often give an intimate picture of his hopes and fears during the political turmoil of the late Republic.
- Columella** originally from Spain, wrote a short work on trees, and a lengthy handbook on agriculture AD c.60–65. Book 10, on gardening, is in hexameter verse, while the other books are in prose.
- Dio Cassius** AD c.155–c.235; senator who wrote an extensive history, some of which survives only in summary form.
- Florus** first or second century AD; wrote an abridgement (or epitome) of Roman history with special reference to wars waged up to the time of Augustus.
- Frontinus** AD c.30–103; best known for his work *On Aqueducts*, he also composed a guide to military strategy.
- Macrobius** One of the topics covered in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, a wide-ranging dialogue, set over the period of the Saturnalia festival of AD 383?, is a discussion of witty sayings of and about famous people, taken from earlier authors.
- Pliny the Elder** AD 23–79; wrote an encyclopedic work on Natural History (which survives) and a history (which does not); commander of the Roman fleet at Misenum; died at Stabiae during the eruption of Vesuvius.
- Pliny the Younger** nephew and adopted son of Pliny the Elder. Witness of Vesuvius' eruption. He published ten books of *Letters* in the reign of Trajan.
- Plutarch** AD c.45–125; his *Parallel Lives* presented biographies of pairs of Greeks and Romans. His *Moralia* deals with a huge range of topics.
- Seneca the Younger** 4 BC–AD 65; Stoic philosopher and tutor to the young emperor Nero, forced to commit suicide after falling from favour. His *Natural Questions* investigates natural phenomena.
- Strabo** geographer and historian, born in the Black Sea region, wrote in Greek at the time of Augustus and Tiberius (late first century BC – early first century AD).
- Suetonius** AD c.70–c.140; best known for his biographies of emperors, he had earlier (under Trajan) composed a work, *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, taking grammarians, orators, poets and historians as his subjects. The biographical sketch of Pliny the Elder (included in his capacity as a distinguished historian) survives only partially.
- Tacitus** AD c.56–c.120. Orator and senator who wrote two major historical works, the *Annals*, covering the period from the death of Augustus in AD

14 to that of Nero in AD 68, and the *Histories* from the civil wars of AD 68/9 to the death of Titus in AD 81. Neither work survives in its entirety.

Notes on epigraphic sources

Pottery inscriptions

A great many inscriptions have been found on the clay vessels discovered within Pompeii and Herculaneum, as throughout the Roman world. (In Rome, Monte Testaccio, a hill 35 metres high, has been formed from *amphorae* dumped there, and rows on rows fill Pompeii's stores.) These inscriptions, some scratched on the clay by a sharp point, and others written in carbon or paint, were essentially labels, usually abbreviated and needing only to be meaningful to one or two people. Despite this, most can be read, and enough examples do survive to give us some interesting glimpses of trade and life in the two towns. They are published mainly in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV.

Monumental inscriptions, dipinti, graffiti, wax tablets

The monumental stone inscriptions found at Pompeii before the twentieth century are mostly published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X (two fascicles), which is supplemented by *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VIII. In addition, Giordano and Casale (1991) published some of the inscriptions found in the period 1954–78. Otherwise, inscriptions found since the 1950s are scattered through archaeological reports, journal articles and monographs, and can only be tracked down by going through *Année Epigraphique*, but even this does not pick up everything that has been published.

Painted inscriptions (*dipinti*) and graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and wax tablets from Pompeii can be found in the fascicles of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV, with the latest supplement appearing in 2011, ed. Weber. A very welcome tool is the publication of archive photographs of painted inscriptions in situ, which have since disappeared through weathering, by Varone and Stefani (2009). The Internet offers two major resources, in the form of scanned copies of several fascicles of *CIL* (http://cil.bbaw.de/dateien/cil_baende.html#xvi) and *ILS* (www.archive.org/details/inscriptionesla00dessgoog).

Giuseppe Camodeca is still painstakingly publishing the fascinating wax tablets from Herculaneum, which give vivid glimpses into the everyday economic and legal concerns of a cross-section of the town's population. His insightful articles unfortunately tend to appear only in specialist legal and epigraphic journals, but deserve to have a much greater impact upon people's perceptions of society at Herculaneum, revealing, as they do, Roman law in

action.

Brackets

[]	indicate part of the original text is missing from the stone.
()	indicate that the translation is expanding words abbreviated in the Latin.
< >	enclose letters omitted by error from the original text.
[[]]	indicate that part of a text has been deliberately erased in antiquity.
{ }	indicate explanatory notes.

PRE-ROMAN POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

The vast majority of our evidence for the early history of Pompeii and Herculaneum is archaeological. Scatterings of prehistoric artefacts indicate a long history of activity on the lava plateau at the mouth of the River Sarno occupied by the later town of Pompeii, but we have to wait until the sixth century BC for what can be identified as a city to develop on the site. During that century, the Doric Temple and sanctuary of Apollo were constructed, and an area of around 66 hectares was enclosed in a defensive wall. It had long been thought that it was possible to discern in the current street pattern the less regular layout of the earliest settlement at Pompeii. This so-called ‘Altstadt’, or ‘Old Town’, covered an area of about 14 hectares. It is now clear, however, that this area was not an original nucleus from which the settlement later expanded. Exactly what it does represent is still much debated. Ten miles away from Pompeii around the Bay of Naples, Herculaneum was a much later foundation, with the earliest evidence on that site dating only from the fourth century BC, and was on a much smaller scale of approximately 20 hectares. Nevertheless, both towns celebrated their mythological foundations by the Greek hero Hercules (A3–6).

The earliest writing from Pompeii is scratched upon fragments of pottery, notably in a deposit of votive offerings in the Temple of Apollo. Some of these texts are dedications, while others record the identity of the owner of the pottery. They range in date from *c.* 600 to *c.* 475 BC and are written in Etruscan. Otherwise, the earliest decipherable writing from the site (second/first centuries BC) appears in Oscan, an Italic language used in parts of southern Italy. Written from right to left, it uses an alphabet different from that of Latin, although some words mirror Latin usage. Monumental inscriptions and graffiti in Oscan provide our main documentary source for life in Pompeii before it came directly under Rome's control in the first century BC (A11–17, A20–21, A27–30). These Oscan inscriptions give an insight into how the town was administered and what gods were worshipped. Although a few of these inscriptions were still on public display in AD 79, the majority were found where they had been reused as building material. By contrast, only one monumental Oscan inscription has been found so far at Herculaneum (A18), with only two other Oscan texts also known, a graffito in the Samnite House

(*Ins.* V.1), recording possibly craftsmen's signatures, and another on a tile.

Two main areas of pre-Roman burials have been uncovered at Pompeii. Twenty-nine inhumations from the fourth to mid-second centuries BC were found beyond the Herculaneum Gate, in the area to the west of the last shops along the north side of the street and in the area of the Villa of the Mosaic Columns. These were not monumental tombs, and contained few grave goods, including pottery, coins and a bronze mirror. The Fondo Azzolini necropolis, about 500 metres beyond the Stabian Gate, contains an area (c.400 square metres) enclosed by a wall, where 44 inhumations from the fourth to second centuries BC were discovered. Almost all the pre-Roman tombs are non-monumental, with only one (Tomb X) containing two small burial chambers preceded by a vestibule. Among the few grave goods were some coins minted at Naples, metal strigils (used by bathers to clean their skin), bronze bracelets and silver earrings. There were also 119 Roman-period cremations, and inscriptions from these identify the deceased as members of the Epidii family. This raises the possibility of a continuous sequence of burials by that family from the Samnite period down into Roman times. A picture of another prominent local family, the Popidii, can be pieced together from a variety of different sources (A27–31).

During the third century BC, Pompeii entered into alliance with Rome, a period that heralded major developments in the town's public buildings, infrastructure, and domestic spaces. By the late second century BC we can see the impact of Hellenistic culture upon Pompeii's public and private buildings (A19–25). By contrast, Herculaneum's main phase of urban development appears to have occurred only later, towards the end of the first century BC. The monumentalization of the Sanctuary of Dionysus just outside Pompeii in the late third/early second century BC (A19–21) and construction of the Basilica at its heart in the late second century BC illustrate the impact of Hellenistic culture upon the town's public character. The long-established Sanctuary of Apollo adjacent to the Forum was also remodelled along Hellenistic lines in the second century BC, when a temple in stone replaced the wooden temple. The addition of a *palaestra* and portico to the Stabian Baths in the mid-second century BC also reflected the same tendency. At about the same time, the town's elite increasingly adopted Hellenistic culture in their private lives too, and the House of the Faun provides an outstanding example of this (A22–23). The impact of the Greek language is evident in the names of Oscan measures inscribed (and later erased) upon the Forum's measuring table, which were derived from Greek (H98).

* * *

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM (A1–2)

A1 Map of the Bay of Naples

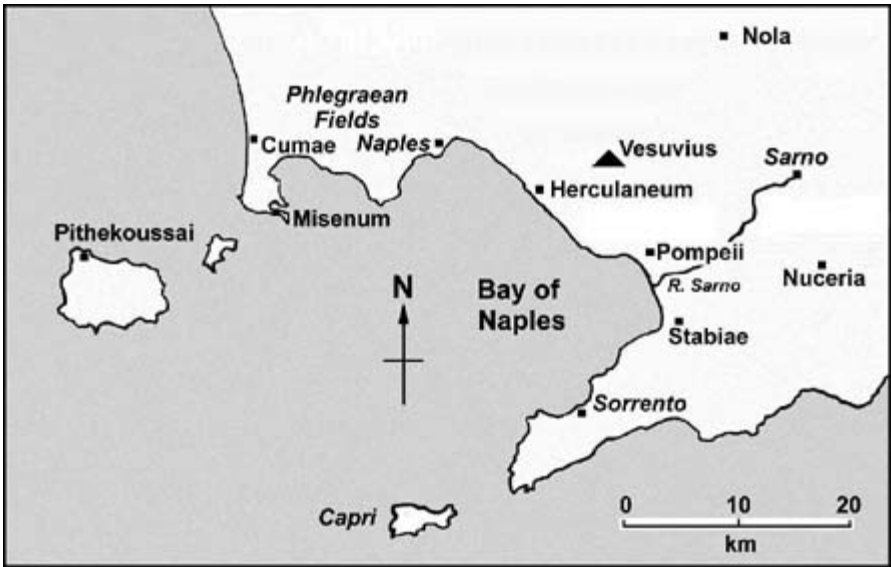


Figure 1.1 Map of the Bay of Naples (modern place names given in *italics*)

A2 A description of the Bay of Naples

From here Italy curves towards the Tyrrhenian Sea and the other side of the land ... the bay of Pozzuoli, Sorrento, Herculaneum, the sight of Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, Naples, Pozzuoli, Lake Lucrinus, Lake Avernus, Baiae, Misenum – that being now the name of the place of the former Trojan soldier – Cumae, Liternum, the River Volturnus, the town Volturnum, the pleasant shores of Campania.

(Pomponius Mela, *Geography* 2.4.70)

Pomponius Mela probably wrote his geography in celebration of Claudius' conquest of Britain in AD 43.

ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM (A3–10)

MYTHOLOGICAL FOUNDATION OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM BY HERCULES (A3–6)

As one of his twelve labours, Hercules was sent to the western edge of the world, to Gades (modern Cadiz, Spain). Having defeated the monster Geryon there, he drove Geryon's herd of cattle back to Greece, passing through Italy on his travels. As he did so, he was said to have bestowed upon Pompeii its

name, derived from the word for procession common to Greek and Latin (*pompe/ pompa*). Nearby Herculaneum was also reputedly founded by the Greek hero and named after him. The cult of Hercules was one of the earliest known at Pompeii, where he was worshipped along with Athena in the Doric Temple. Both deities are represented on fourth-century BC terracotta antefixes from the so-called 'Triangular Forum' (actually a sanctuary), whose Doric Temple may have honoured him alongside Athena (Carafa 2011: 95, Figure 5). At Herculaneum, the hero featured in sizeable wall paintings found in various public buildings: two paintings – one depicting his introduction among the gods on Mount Olympus, and the other his contest with the river-god Achelous – filled both sides of the shrine in the 'College of the *Augustales*', while another in a grandiose building on the other side of the *decumanus* ('so-called basilica') illustrated Hercules' discovery of the infant Telephus (MANN inv. 9008). A frieze of episodes in the life of Hercules was also found in the same building.

A3 An etymological explanation of Pompeii's name

Pompeii (was founded) in Campania by Hercules, who had led a procession {*pompa*} of cattle from Spain as victor.

(Isidore, *Etymologies* 15.1.51)

Isidore, a late antique Christian writer (sixth/seventh centuries AD) from Spain, wrote a massive encyclopaedia.

A4 Hercules' *pompa*

As he was coming through Campania from Spain, Hercules made a triumphal procession {*pompa*} in a Campanian town; this is how the town of Pompeii gets its name.

(Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid* VII 662)

Servius was a scholar who wrote a commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* during the fourth/fifth centuries AD.

A5 Foundation of Herculaneum

Heracles ... founded a small city named after him where his fleet anchored. It is now inhabited by Romans and lies in between Naples and Pompeii, offering secure harbourage in all seasons.

(Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.44.1)

Dionysius of Halicarnassus composed the *Roman Antiquities*, a history of Rome from its origins to the First Punic War, during the Augustan era.

A6 The location of Herculaneum

This town {Herculaneum} was situated on a mound in a raised location near the sea, with small city walls, between two rivers, under Vesuvius.

(Sisenna, *History* fragment 54, quoted by Nonius 207,9)

Lucius Cornelius Sisenna wrote a history of the civil wars. Nonius preserves the fragment to illustrate a writer using the feminine form of the noun for 'river'.

THE SETTLERS OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM (A7–8)

A7 Inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum

Then you have Heracles' fortress, which has a headland jutting out into the sea for the south-westerly breeze to catch, making it a healthy place to live. The Oscans used to occupy both Herculaneum and Pompeii next to it, past which the River Sarno flows. Then the Etruscans and the Pelasgians, and, after that, the Samnites; these people were also thrown out of these places. Nola, Nuceria and Acherrae have as their port Pompeii on the River Sarno, which transports goods in both directions.

(Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.8)

A8 Campania's inhabitants

From this point is famous productive Campania ... It was inhabited by Oscans, Greeks, Umbrians, Etruscans, and Campanians. On the coast is Naples ..., Herculaneum, and Pompeii: Mount Vesuvius can be seen not far away and the Sarno river flows past.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.60–62)

EARLY ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN ROME AND POMPEII (A9–10)

A9 An episode in the Second Samnite War, 310 BC

At about the same time, a Roman fleet, under Publius Cornelius, whom the Senate had put in command of the coast, sailed to Campania. When it had put ashore at Pompeii, Italian marines set out from there to lay waste Nucertian territory.

(Livy 9.38.2)

Livy (59 BC–AD 17) wrote during the Augustan era *Ab Urbe Condita*, a large-scale history of Rome from its foundation to 9 BC. The region of Samnium (adjacent to Campania to the north) opposed Rome's expansion in a series of wars. The Second Samnite War lasted for some twenty years from 326 BC. Some of the Samnites' opposition to Rome was based in Campania; Rome pursued an aggressive campaign aimed at encircling the Samnites. Pompeii is here merely mentioned in passing, as the point of entry into the territory of Nuceria, upon which Pompeii was probably dependent at this time.

A10 A gift from the Roman general Mummius

Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, consul.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.615: Pompei 1)

This text is inscribed in Oscan upon a statue base of tufa within the Temple of Apollo, but had been covered over with plaster at a later date. It probably originally displayed artwork seized by Mummius from Corinth when he sacked that city in 146 BC, and was dedicated in thanks for Mummius' gift to the town. Following his conquest, Mummius presented gifts to various Italian towns for their service to Rome (Livy, *Oxyrhynchus Epitome* 53: 'L. Mummius distributed images, statues, and paintings from Corinth through towns and decorated Rome'; compare Frontinus, *Strategems* 4.3.14).

ADMINISTRATION AND RELIGION

(A11–18)

The monumental inscriptions in Oscan provide us with a picture of Pompeii's pre-Roman system of administration and urban development. The town was governed by two main bodies: a popular assembly and a council. Some aspects of the town's organization were quite similar to contemporary Roman practices. For example, the aediles were responsible for the town's roads and the quaestors (*kvaistsur*) for financial matters. Building-inscriptions reveal the role of magistrates in sponsoring public buildings (A11–15) and religious dedications illustrate which gods were worshipped in Pompeii (A17, A20–21). Herculaneum's sole monumental inscription in Oscan found to date attests to the cult of Venus Erycina in the town (A18).

A11 Road-building at Pompeii

M. Suttius, son of M., and Numerius Pontius, son of M., aediles, marked out this road as far as the lower Stabian road. The road is marked out over 100 feet. The same magistrates marked out the Pompeian road over 30 feet as far as the Temple of Jupiter Meilichios. They officially established from scratch these roads and the road of Jupiter and the (?) road by order of the Pompeian

chief magistrate (*meddix tuticus*). The same aediles approved the work.
(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.637: Pompei 13)

This Oscan inscription (c.200–100 BC?), regulating road construction, was found on a travertine block sunk into the ground just inside the Stabian Gate. The first sentence may end ‘Stabian bridge’ rather than ‘lower Stabian road’. The identity of the Temple of Jupiter Meilichios mentioned here is disputed; traditionally identified as the small temple to the north of the theatres, it is actually more likely to be a small shrine in a sanctuary just outside Pompeii beyond the Stabian Gate, in the Fondo Iozzino. Another fragmentary inscription, *Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.635: Pompei 12, records a similar project.

A12 A testamentary donation to the town

Vibius Adiranus, son of Vibius, granted money in his will to the people of Pompeii; with this money, the Pompeian quaestor, Vibius Vinicius, son of Maras, by decree of the assembly, issued a contract for this to be built, and he himself approved it.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.656: Pompei 24)

This travertine plaque (post-123 BC), carefully inscribed in Oscan, was found in the Samnite Palaestra (VIII.vii.29), and probably commemorates its construction.

A13 A sundial in the Stabian Baths

Maras Atinius, son of Maras, quaestor, with the money raised from fines, by decree of the assembly, saw to this being set up.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.650: Pompei 21)

This Oscan inscription appears on the base of a small marble sundial (150–100 BC), found near the main entrance to the Stabian Baths (VII.i.8) from the Street of Abundance. The use of money from fines to fund a public project was also common Roman practice. The Oscan expression for ‘with the money raised from fines’ (*eitiuvad multasikad*) directly mirrors the equivalent archaic Latin phrase (*aere moltaticod*). Maras Atinius also appears as aedile on the altar in the Sanctuary of Dionysus ([A20](#)).

A14 Monumentalization of a well in the Triangular Forum

Numerius Trebius, son of Trebius, chief magistrate {*meddix tuticus*}, saw to this being built.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.634: Pompei 11)

This Oscan text (c. 200–100 BC?) was inscribed upon the architrave of a small circular structure, or *tholos*, in the Triangular Forum, which stood above a well. Like the Popidii (A27–31), members of the Trebii are also found as public figures right down until AD 79.

A15 Refurbishing the Temple of Apollo

Ovius Camp[anius, son of ?], quaestor, by decree of the assembly, with the money of Apollo [–] issued a contract and approved it.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.653: Pompei 23)

This Oscan inscription (c. 140 BC) is highly unusual in form, surviving as a series of dots stamped upon the paving, at the threshold to the temple's inner room (*cella*). These were possibly once joined up or filled with metal. It is unclear exactly what the inscription refers to, but it may well commemorate work on the elaborate geometrically patterned paving rather than on the temple as a whole.

A16 Locations for bail in the forum

Bail

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.665: Pompei 28)

The word ‘bail’ is painted in Oscan on four columns at the south end of the Forum, presumably marking out where judicial proceedings occurred in the town.

A17 Altar to the goddess Flora

To Flora.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.681: Pompei 36)

This small travertine altar with an Oscan dedication to Flora (150–100 BC) was found in the secondary *atrium* of the House of the Faun (VI.xii.2). A bronze female statuette, perhaps representing the goddess Flora, was also found nearby.

A18 Altar to Venus at Herculaneum

I belong to Venus.

L. Stlabius, son of L., Ocellus (?) chief magistrate {*meddix tuticus*}, set this up to Venus Erycina.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 1 p.605: Herculaneum 1)

A limestone altar-top found at Herculaneum (c. 150–90 BC) has two inscriptions, the first engraved in the middle on the top of the altar, and the

other engraved below the moulding on its front. The goddess appears here in her Oscan form, as Herentas Erycina (see also [E29–31](#)).

HELLENISTIC CULTURE AT POMPEII (A19–26)

SANCTUARY OF DIONYSUS, ‘S. ABBONDIO’ (A19–21)

A sanctuary to Dionysus (Bacchus) was uncovered by bombardment in the Second World War, just to the south-east of Pompeii, roughly a kilometre beyond the amphitheatre. An inscribed altar stands in front of the Doric temple. The temple's pediment depicts Dionysus holding a bunch of grapes and a wine cup, together with other figures commonly associated with him (such as a panther) and a female figure who has been variously interpreted as Ariadne or Aphrodite. The following inscriptions show that Pompeii's magistrates were directly involved in establishing the cult, perhaps in the second half of the third century BC. Despite the Roman Senate's decree in 186 BC banning worship of Bacchus not only at Rome but also among Rome's Italian allies, there is no evidence that the cult at Pompeii was interrupted. This may be one indication of how deeply culture and society in Pompeii were influenced by Hellenistic traditions during the second century BC. The temple was still in use in AD 79.

A19 The Sanctuary of Dionysus

See [Figure 1.2](#).

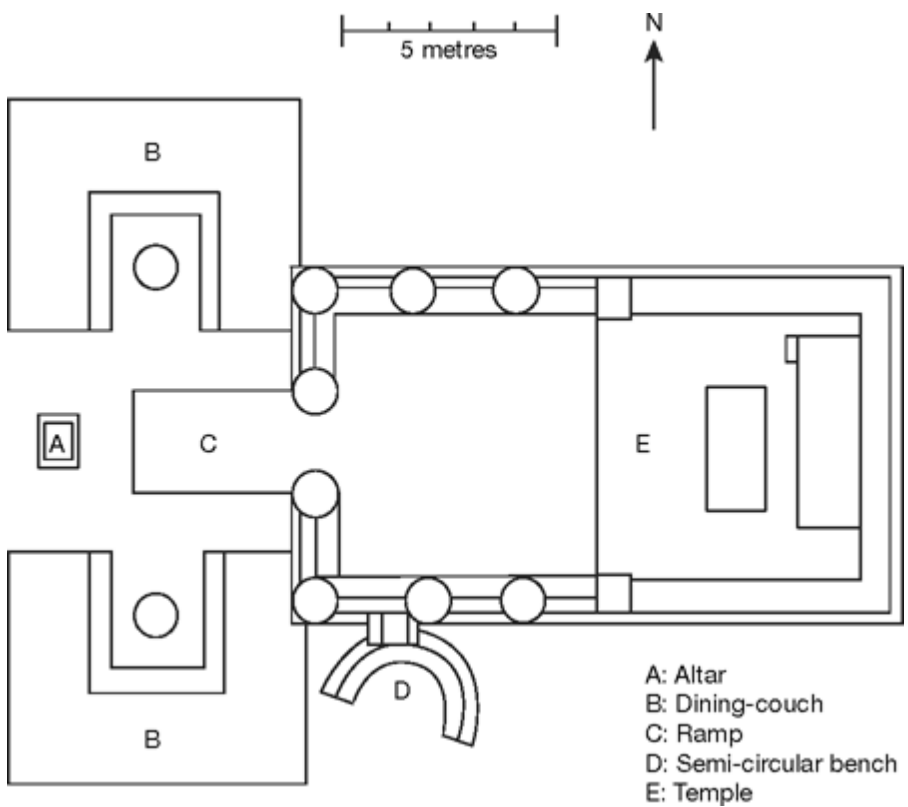


Figure 1.2 Plan of the Sanctuary of Dionysus, 'S. Abbondio'

A20 Inscribed altar

Maras Atinius, son of Maras, aedile, at his own expense.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.642: Pompei 16)

This Oscan inscription (225-200 BC) appears on both front and back of the tufa altar. Traces of the red paint highlighting its lettering were still visible when it was found. The same individual is named as quaestor (*kvaísstur*) on the inscribed sundial in the Stabian Baths (A13).

A21 Pebble-mosaic inscription on ramp leading into temple

Ovius Epidius, son of Ovius, and Trebius Messius, son of Trebius, aediles.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.640: Pompei 14)

HOUSE OF THE FAUN (A22–26)

A22 Excavation of the House of the Faun (VI.xii.2)

Until the advent of Fiorelli, there was no accurate system for identifying a house, with the result that the location of a particular building was often described by a long paraphrase. Houses might be named after some distinctive feature, but that name could change over time. What is now commonly known as the 'House of the Faun' (VI.xii.2), for example, has been called 'House of Pan', 'House of Goethe', 'House of the Large Mosaic', 'House of the family of Purius Magius', 'House of Arbaces the Egyptian', 'House of the Battle of Alexander', 'House of M. Cassius', and 'House of the Lucretii Satrii'. The following extracts report the excavation of what is one of the grandest houses in the town, famous for its multi-coloured mosaics, especially the so-called Alexander Mosaic ([A23](#)), but also including a fish mosaic detailed enough for types of fish to be readily identifiable ([H32a, b](#)), and many other spectacular mosaics which do indeed still form the basis of the collection in Naples Museum (see closing comment of [A22](#)). For a plan of the house, see [A23](#).

The entrance to the house had been discovered in October–December 1829 (recorded by Fiorelli in *PAH* II, page 232) but actual excavation had to wait almost a year.

October 1830: Once the Street of Mercury had been completely cleared, we were left free to direct our efforts once more to the street which leads from the Temple of Fortune to the Gate of Isis, passing through the heart of this ancient town. At once we came across the entrance to a private building, which must be considered among the most surprising things to have been discovered. This entrance was equipped with a high and wide wooden door, made up of three pieces, which were held together by every kind of iron fitting and large rings of bronze. The walls inside displayed decoration of an order of coffering as decoration, resting above brackets in the shape of dogs in stucco, represented in energetic and swift movement. Above, rise up 4 small Corinthian columns, which imitate the entrance to a luxurious building, whose doors appear in the background, and which support a second order of coffering, representing the roofing of the aforementioned entrance. The interior of these last cofferings was gilded, and contained the miniature busts in stucco of some protecting deities. A lead palette with various colours and with gold leaf, which were perhaps being used to finish the work in this part of the house, was found nearby. The mosaic threshold of the second door, which leads directly into the *atrium*, is a unique monument in terms of its preservation and art. It is 11 feet long by 21/4; and it depicts a large festoon of flowers and fruit, which supports two tragic masks and two circular frames, all of it of incomparable craftsmanship, design, and colouring. The *atrium* is decorated with rusticated walls, which appear as if of coloured marbles {i.e. 1st style painting}; in the middle is the *impluvium* with a small fountain. On one of its sides was found a statue of Pan {'the Faun'}, about 3 feet high, of bronze. {Description

follows.}

November 1830: The *tablinum* is opposite. To its sides are two splendid rooms, and in front of these the usual covered rooms, or *alae*. In the room to the right of the *tablinum* one admires a mosaic on the floor, 41/4 by 41/4 feet, which depicts a sea-shore covered with a large number of fish, life-sized and coloured in a lively way and with surprising accuracy. {Description follows: see [H32a](#)}

December 1830: In the room to the left of the *tablinum* another mosaic was uncovered this month, 43/4 by 43/4 feet, depicting the Divine Spirit of Bacchus on a panther ... Festoons of flowers and fruit surround this picture, and from them hang many stage-masks, of a new and varied design. The execution, colouring, style, sensitivity, and freshness of this peerless monument cannot be described. {Report continues with the right *ala*, where there is a more ordinary mosaic of birds, and the left *ala*, where there is a mosaic of a cat with a dead bird, judged to be possibly the best mosaic discovered.} It is to be noted that apart from the decorations and the rusticated walls imitating coloured marbles, no painting adorns this dwelling. One might say that its owner, scorning a glory that he would have shared in common with more lowly houses, has reserved for himself a type of decoration and of luxury, which it would not be easy to emulate. Thus, this house's *atrium* alone offers enough to create a gallery in the Royal Museum of unparalleled richness.

(Fiorelli, *PAH* II pp.240–42)

A23 Plan of the House of the Faun, Pompeii

See [Figure 1.3](#).

A24 The Alexander mosaic

The huge Alexander mosaic (2.70 metres high by 5.12 metres wide), consisting of over one and a half million tiny *tesserae*, or coloured cubes, is one of the artistic highlights of Pompeii. Experts agree that the use of colour, foreshortening, and treatment of light and shade in the mosaic all show that it copied, in mosaic form, a Hellenistic (third-century BC) painting. This original may have been the picture painted for King Cassander of Macedonia (ruled 316–297 BC), mentioned by Pliny the Elder in his chapters on art history ([A26](#)).

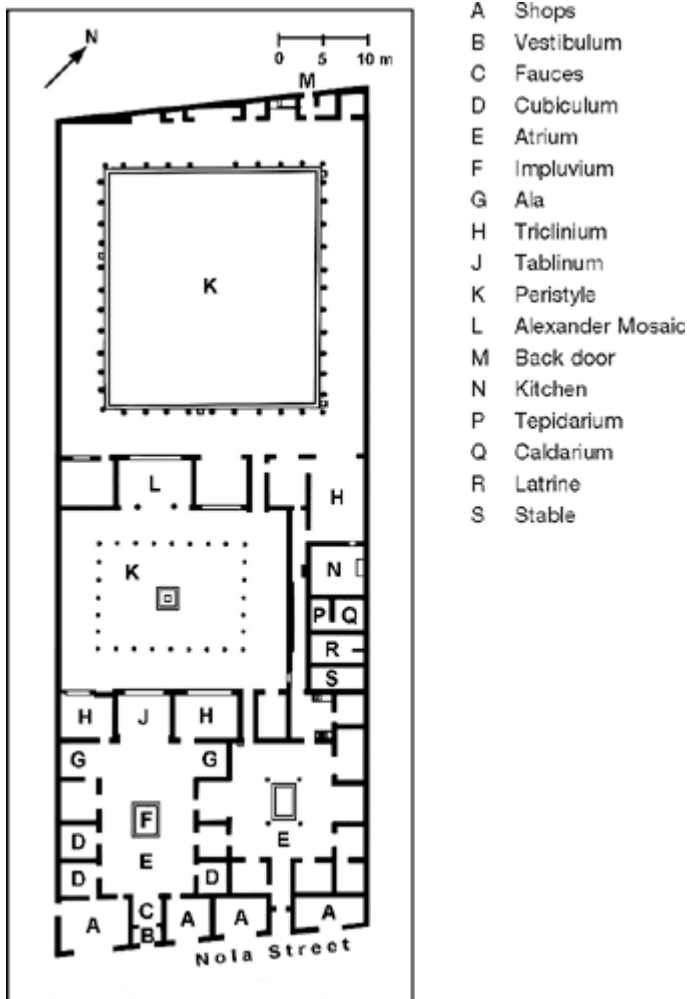


Figure 1.3 Plan of the House of the Faun, Pompeii

The mosaic depicts the turning-point in a battle between Alexander the Great (close-up in [Plate 1.1](#)) and the Persian king Darius, as the latter turns to flight. Its depiction of the equipment used by the two armies is accurate. Whether the artist intended to depict an actual moment of a particular battle cannot be determined, and there is some dispute whether it shows the battle of Issus (333 BC) or the later battle of Gaugemela (331 BC). [A25](#) is a Roman historian's account of the Battle of Issus, probably written in the mid-first century AD, based on historical accounts from Alexander's time. The mosaic and this account have some details in common, but also differences. It was prominently situated in the house where it could be viewed from the peristyles on either side. Around it were mosaics depicting scenes of life on the River Nile, near Alexandria, one of the great cities founded by Alexander.



Plate 1.1 The Alexander mosaic, detail (MANN inv. 10020)

A25 An account of the Battle of Issus

Alexander took the role of a soldier as much as that of a leader in actively pursuing the highest honour, that of killing the king. Darius indeed stood high in his chariot, a great incentive for his men to defend and for his enemy to attack. Therefore, Darius' brother, Oxathres, on seeing Alexander pressing on the king, interposed the cavalry under his command right in front of the king's chariot. Towering above the others in weapons and his own strength, and conspicuous among the few for his bravery and loyalty, Oxathres certainly achieved renown in that battle and laid low some who pressed on recklessly and turned others to flight. But the Macedonians around their king, shouting encouragement to one another, broke into the ranks of cavalry with Alexander himself. Then men fell like a collapsed building. Darius' noblest leaders lay around his chariot, killed bravely before the eyes of their king, all lying on their faces just as they had fallen in the fight, with wounds on their fronts. Notable among them were commanders of great armies: Atizyes, Rheomithres and Sabaces, governor of Egypt; around them were heaped less famous infantry and horsemen. As for the Macedonians, not many, but some of the boldest were slain; and Alexander was slightly wounded in the right thigh by a sword.

Now the horses that were pulling Darius, struck by spears, and wild with pain, had begun to throw off their yoke and shake the king from the chariot. Then he, fearing being taken alive by the enemy, leapt down and mounted a

horse that followed for that very purpose, dishonourably throwing away his royal regalia so that it would not betray his flight. Then indeed the rest were scattered in terror ...

(Quintus Curtius Rufus, *History of Alexander* 3.11.7–12)

A26 A painting of Alexander

Nicomachos, son of Aristides, had as a pupil Philoxenos of Eretria, whose picture painted for King Cassander, *Battle of Alexander with Darius*, is second to none.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.110)

MOSAIC SCENES FROM COMEDIES BY MENANDER (A27)

A pair of mosaics (c.100 BC) from the 'Villa of Cicero', signed (in Greek) by an artist from Samos ('Dioskourides of Samos made this'), illustrate scenes from plays by the famous Greek playwright Menander, as indicated by the characters' wearing of theatrical masks. It is likely that they were imported to Pompeii from a Hellenistic centre of mosaic production. One shows musicians playing double-flute, mini-cymbals and drum (MANN inv. 9985), with an attendant, perhaps from the play *Theophoroumene*, 'The Possessed'. The other shows three women sitting around a table, with a slave attending them. This is interpreted as a scene from Menander's play *Synaristosai*, 'Women at Breakfast' (MANN inv. 9987).

A27 A mosaic scene from a comedy by Menander



Plate 1.2 A mosaic scene from a comedy by Menander (MANN inv. 9985)

THE POPIDII FAMILY (A28–32)

The Popidii were a prominent family in Pompeii throughout the town's documented history. A remarkable degree of continuity in their contribution to Pompeii's urban development emerges from [A28](#) to [A29](#), two similar inscriptions, albeit one in Oscan and the other in Latin, recording building work by individuals from different generations. See also [C5](#).

A28 Construction of a portico (Oscan)

Vibius Popidius, son of Vibius, chief magistrate {*meddix tuticus*}, issued a contract for the construction of this portico and officially approved it.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.631: Pompei 9)

Since this Oscan inscription (c.150-100 BC) was found reused in VIII.3.4, we can only guess where it might originally have been displayed. The portico has sometimes been identified as the tufa portico on the south side of the Forum, but it could equally well be some portico since demolished.

A29 Construction of a portico, late 80s BC? (Latin)

Vibius Popidius son of Eppius(?), *q(uaestor)*, saw to the building of the porticoes.

(CIL X 794 = ILS 5538)

This portico has also been interpreted as being one in the Forum, and the inscription's findspot, near the entrance to the *Basilica*, makes this quite possible. Various interpretations have been offered of the magistracy abbreviated simply as 'Q': it could be *q(uaestor)*, *q(uattuorvir)* or *q(uinquennalis)*. If we follow the usual interpretation, of *quaestor* (a post not used in Roman colonies), the inscription may date to a period of interim administration, when the town had the status of a *municipium*.

A30 Construction of Nolan Gate

Vibius Popidius, son of Vibius, chief magistrate {*meddix tuticus*} saw to this being built and officially approved it.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.628: Pompei 8)

This inscription (c.200-150 BC) was found built into the inner arch of the Nolan Gate, near the keystone, together with the sculpture in tufa of a female head, probably representing the town's protective deity. It was perhaps reused in the gate to reinforce it and covered over in stucco.

A31 Amphora inscription

Vibius Popidius, son of Vibius, magistrate.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.633: Pompei 10)

These words are painted upon a wine *amphora*, found among ancient rubbish, which had accumulated at the foot of the town wall near the Vesuvian Gate. They illustrate how the name of the local annual magistrate (*meddix*) was used as a means of dating, here for a vintage of wine (compare [H7-8](#)).

A32 Roof-tile stamp from the Basilica (Latin)

Numerius Popidius

(CIL X 8042.154)

THE SOCIAL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum were among the Italian allies who opposed Rome in the Social, or Italic, War of 91–87 BC, with the aim of securing political rights for their communities in their dealings with Rome. Both Pompeii and Herculaneum were successfully besieged by the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix in the course of the war. At Pompeii itself, traces of Sulla's presence may be seen in a graffito (B7), in notices organizing the Pompeians' resistance (B6), and in the damage left in the town fortifications by the bombardment of Sulla (B8), some of whose missiles have even been found alongside the northern stretch of the walls. During 89 BC, Herculaneum was occupied by the allies' army under Papius Mutilus, but was captured by Sulla's forces led by T. Didius. Nearby Stabiae suffered a worse fate, being sacked and destroyed on 30 April 89 BC (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.70). The status of both towns changed as a result of the war, with Pompeii becoming a *colonia*, and Herculaneum being granted the status of a *municipium* (B16).

The first group of sources traces the opposition of Pompeii and Herculaneum to Rome in the Social War (B1–8). A few years later (c. 81/80 BC), in punishment for Pompeii's resistance, Sulla imposed a colony of his veteran soldiers upon the town (perhaps between 2,000 and 4,000 of them), led by his nephew Publius Cornelius Sulla. At this point, the town was renamed as *colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum* (see E1), a name recording its links to the goddess Venus and to the family name (Cornelius) of its new founder, Sulla, who also claimed Venus as his protectress. At this point, Pompeii adopted the constitution of a Roman colony, and Latin supplanted Oscan in all public inscriptions. Latin inscriptions from this period illustrate the impact of the colonists upon the buildings of the town (B9–15). The names of Sullan veterans dominate the inscriptions of the first couple of generations following colonization, down to the Augustan period, and it is possible that the local Pompeians were formally excluded from fully participating in local politics for a couple of decades (B19–20). Although Rome's grip upon the Italian peninsula in the mid-first century BC, following the Social War, perhaps seems secure to us, some Pompeians may have been prepared to exploit times of insecurity at Rome, notably in the wake of

Spartacus' slave-revolt and of the Catilinarian conspiracy (**B17–20**).

Not only Sullan veterans, however, but other Romans – notably Cicero – also came to acquire property around Pompeii by the mid-first century BC (**B21–27**). Excavators in the eighteenth century identified a villa on the outskirts, just beyond the Herculaneum Gate, as belonging to Cicero. This was covered over again after excavation in 1749 and 1764, as was usual practice at that time. In any case, he is more likely to have possessed a country estate further away from the town, but in its territory.

THE SOCIAL WAR (B1–8)

B1 The start of the Social War, 90 BC

When the revolt broke out in Asculum, all the neighbouring peoples joined in showing that they were ready for war: the Marsi, the Paeligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; in addition, the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeians, the Venusini, the Apulians and the Samnites, all peoples who had been hostile to the Romans before... They sent ambassadors to Rome complaining that they had done everything to help the Romans with their empire, but the Romans did not think that those who had helped them deserved citizenship.

(Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.39)

B2 Sieges of Herculaneum and Pompeii

In this war he {Minatius Magius} showed such loyalty to the Romans that with a legion which he had enlisted from the Hirpini, he captured Herculaneum with Titus Didius and attacked Pompeii with Sulla.

(Velleius Paterculus 2.16.2)

Velleius Paterculus (c.17 BC–AD c.30) wrote a panegyric summary Roman history in only two volumes, which dealt very briefly with Rome's Republican history and focused upon more recent events. He served in the Roman army under Tiberius. Velleius mentions the leading generals on either side, and pays especial attention to his own maternal ancestor, Minatius Magius of Aeclanum. Titus Didius was killed in taking Herculaneum on 11 June.

B3 Didius killed in capturing Herculaneum

In the following year, on the very same day {11 June} the death of Didius doubled the enemy's strength.

(Ovid, *Fasti* 6.567–68)

Ovid published his poem about the Roman calendar, *Fasti*, in AD 8. Book six

deals with the month of June.

B4 Allies come to the help of Pompeii

Lucius Cluentius contemptuously encamped 600 metres from Sulla who was encamped near the Pompeian hills.

(Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.50)

Appian relates an episode when Lucius Cluentius, one of the allies' military leaders, came to help the besieged Pompeians, but after an initial success he was defeated by Sulla somewhere between Pompeii and Nola.

B5 Pompeii besieged

In the 661st year from the founding of the city {93 BC}, the Roman army went to besiege the Pompeians. Postumius Albinus, an ex-consul, at that time was a commander of Lucius Sulla. He had aroused the hatred of all the soldiers towards him by his unbearable arrogance, and was stoned to death.

(Orosius, *Histories against the Pagans* 5.18.22)

The account of the siege by the fifth-century Christian historian Orosius is not quite accurate, offering a date of 93 BC instead of 89 BC.

B6 Organization of Pompeii's military resistance, 91–89 BC

Go by this route between the 12th tower and the Salt Gate, where Maras Adirius, son of Vibius, gives instructions.

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.617: Pompei 2)

A series of Oscan inscriptions painted upon the outer walls of houses near street corners came to light once their overlying plaster had peeled off after excavation. Examples have been found at VI.ii.4, VII.vii, VI.xii.23–25 (House of the Faun), VIII.v/vi (Street of Abundance), III.iv.1–2 (east end of Street of Abundance). They are thought to relate somehow to military operations from the time when Sulla was besieging Pompeii. They are usually taken to be notices relating to individual urban districts giving the location of mustering-points in case of an emergency. The 'Salt Gate' is the Oscan name for what is now known as the Herculaneum Gate.

B7 Sulla at Pompeii

L. Sula

(*CIL* IV 5385)

Sulla's name appears twice (*CIL* IV 5385, 10217a) in graffiti on the first tower

to the west of the Vesuvian Gate (Tower 10). One of these texts is written on plaster next to a window in the lower part of the tower.

B8 Traces of Sulla's bombardment of Pompeii



Plate 2.1 Traces of Sulla's bombardment of Pompeii

Traces of the artillery bombardment of Pompeii are still visible in the marks left by the stone catapult-balls in the town walls, especially on the northern side of the town near the Vesuvian Gate. In addition, actual catapult-balls have also been excavated from the House of the Vestals (VI.1.7) and House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9–10) just within the town walls (Ling 2005: 52, Figure 20).

COLONISTS AT POMPEII (B9–15)

The arrival of the Roman veteran soldiers as colonists in c.81/80 BC heralded a major transformation of the town's fabric, typical of this period as a whole in Italy (**B9–15**). Following colonization, the town's annual magistrates were obliged by law to spend a certain amount of money either on a building project or upon games (**B13**). Individual colonists built a number of new impressive public buildings, including the Amphitheatre (**B12**), Forum Baths (**B14**) and Covered Theatre (**B11**), and modified existing ones, such as the Stabian Baths (**B13**). In addition, some repairs were carried out on the town walls, which had been damaged during the siege (**B10**). It is commonly thought that colonists built the large temple adjacent to the Basilica in honour

of Venus in her capacity both as guardian deity of Pompeii and as Sulla's protectress. Otherwise, the colonists took over the town's existing cults, dedicating a new altar in the temple of Apollo (B9). They also brought with them new funerary customs, setting up monumental tombs along the roads leading out of the town (B15). What remains unclear, however, is where the colonists were housed: since there is no indication of major restructuring within the town during this period it may be the case that some colonists took over existing properties, while others resided in areas beyond the town walls.

B9 Dedication of the altar in the Temple of Apollo

Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, Lucius Sextilius, son of Lucius, Gnaeus Cornelius, son of Gnaeus, Aulus Cornelius, son of Aulus, quattuorvirs, awarded the contract for its construction, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 800 = ILS 6354)

This inscription appears on both sides of the large altar in front of the temple. The title given to the magistrates of quattuorvirs (i.e. the Four) indicates that it dates to a little after 80 BC when this title was used for only a short time to refer collectively to the town's two duumvirs and two aediles. This is therefore one of the earliest actions performed by the colonists in the town. For Marcus Porcius, see also B11–12, B15. For other inscriptions in the Temple of Apollo, see E1–2.

B10 Building-work on the town walls

[–] Cuspius, son of Titus and Marcus Loreius, son of Marcus, duumvirs, [by decree] of the town councillors, saw to the construction of the wall and tower and also approved it.

(CIL X 937 = ILS 5335)

Five fragments of this inscription were found reused in the House of Mars and Venus (VII.i.8).

B11 Construction of the Covered Theatre

Gaius Quinctius Valgus, son of Gaius, and Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, duumvirs, by decree of the town councillors awarded the contract for the construction of the Covered Theatre and also approved it.

(CIL X 844 = ILS 5636)

Two copies of this inscription were set up near the main entrances to the Covered Theatre, from the Stabian Road and from the Large Theatre. It is

possible that the construction of the Covered Theatre was not a brand new project initiated by the colonists, but that they completed a design already underway. The same magistrates later built the Amphitheatre (**B12**). For Marcus Porcius, see also **B9**, **B12**, **B15**. For further interpretation of the Covered Theatre's significance, see **D61–62**.

B12 Construction of the Amphitheatre

Gaius Quinctius Valgus, son of Gaius, and Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, quinquennial duumvirs, for the honour of the colony, saw to the construction of the Amphitheatre at their own expense and gave the area to the colonists in perpetuity.

(*CIL* X 852 = *ILS* 5627)

Two copies of its dedicatory inscription originally stood over the west and east entrances to the Amphitheatre. Gaius Quinctius Valgus may be the father-in-law of the tribune Publius Servilius Rullus, who proposed the agrarian law vehemently attacked by Cicero in his speech *On the Agrarian Law*. Cicero portrays him as one of Sulla's partisans, a profiteer of the worst kind. Even if this identification is not correct, Valgus was certainly a man of wide influence, since he also appears on inscriptions at Aeclanum, Cassino, and Frigento as public magistrate and benefactor (*CIL* X 5282, IX 1140, *ILLRP* 598). The same magistrates had already supervised the construction of the Covered Theatre (**B11**). For Marcus Porcius, see also **B9**, **B11**, **B15**. For the later building-history of the Amphitheatre, see **D1–10**.

B13 Improvements to the Stabian Baths

Gaius Uulius, son of Gaius, and Publius Aninius, son of Gaius, duumvirs with judicial power, contracted out the construction of the sweating-room {*laconicum*} and scraping-room {*destrictarium*} and the rebuilding of the porticoes and the exercise-area {*palaestra*}, by decree of the town councillors, with that money which by law they were obliged to spend either on games or on a monument. They saw to the building-work, and also approved it.

(*CIL* X 829 = *ILS* 5706)

This inscription was found in the Baths, which had originally been established perhaps during the mid-third century BC, and had been modified along Hellenistic lines in the mid-second century. See also **D121**. This text also provides us with valuable evidence regarding the colony's charter, otherwise lost, which evidently required local magistrates to spend a certain sum of money in their year of office on a public building or on games.

B14 Construction of Forum Baths

Lucius Caesius, son of Gaius, duumvir with judicial power, and Gaius Occius son of Marcus, and Lucius Niraemius, son of Aulus, duumvirs, by decree of the town councillors, at public expense, saw to the building-work and approved it.

(CIL X 819 = ILS 6356)

Two copies of this inscription were found in the area of the Forum Baths. The suggestion that this text records the intervention of magistrates during the early years of the *colonia* in building the baths fits with the style of lettering in the inscription and with the distinctive building-technique of quasi-reticulate used in the baths.

B15 Tomb of colonist, Marcus Porcius

Of Marcus Porcius, son of Marcus, by decree of the town councillors, 25 feet wide, 25 feet deep.

(CIL X 997 = ILLRP 650)

This tomb, in the form of an altar, probably belongs to one of the leading colonists. It is in a prominent position, just outside the Herculaneum Gate (tomb 3 left), and its site was awarded to the deceased as a public honour. For M. Porcius, see [B9](#), [B11–12](#).

HERCULANEUM AS A *MUNICIPIUM* **(B16)**

B16 The first magistrates of the *municipium*

?ius? and Lucius(?) Marcius Philippus(?), first duumvirs, saw to the construction and also approved it.

(AE (1960) 277 = Guadagno (1978) 153 no.53)

This fragmentary marble slab, found reused in paving, suggests that Marcius Philippus, consul in 56 BC and stepfather of the future emperor Augustus, may have been one of the first magistrates to hold office in Herculaneum, once the town was given the status of a *municipium*. He is known also to have owned a villa in Campania. For this reconstruction of the text, see Bispham 2007: 504–05.

DISSENT AT POMPEII (B17–20)

B17 Spartacus in Vesuvius' crater, 73 BC

When besieged on Vesuvius, Spartacus constructed ropes out of wild vine in

that part of the mountain which was most precipitous and for that reason unguarded. Let down by these, not only did he break out, but he even terrified Clodius so much on his blind side, that a number of cohorts gave way to seventy-four gladiators.

(Frontinus, *Strategems* 1.5.21)

The gladiator Spartacus led a slave-revolt in 73–71 BC, which started at Capua in northern Campania, and spread through Italy, causing great consternation to the authorities at Rome. As they initially headed south from Capua, the slaves surprised their opponents by hiding in the crater of Mount Vesuvius and then reemerging. Other accounts of this episode appear in Velleius Paterculus 2.30.5; Florus 2.8.4–5; Plutarch, *Crassus* 9; Orosius 5.24.1.

B18a A painting of Spartacus in battle?

See Plate 2.2.

B18b

Spartacus

(*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.699: Pompeii 45)

A sketchy picture of four fighters was found painted on a lower layer of plaster, inside the entrance-way of a house (I.vii.7), coming to light when two layers of plaster above fell off during excavation. Two figures on horseback, armed with spears and shields, are flanked by a figure, to their right, standing with raised trumpet, and by two other fighters on foot, to their left. All four fighters were originally labelled, but only the name of one of the horsemen can now be deciphered. This name written in Oscan – Spartacus – probably alludes to the leader of the infamous slave-revolt.

UNREST AT POMPEII FOLLOWING COLONIZATION, BEFORE 62 BC (B19–20)

Early in January 62 BC, the turbulent political career and life of Lucius Sergius Catilina (Catiline) ended on the battlefield of Pistoria in Northern Italy. The previous year, Cicero, as consul, had had Catiline declared a public enemy. Later in 62 BC, however, Cicero defended Publius Sulla (the dictator's nephew, who had been in charge of establishing the colony at Pompeii) against a charge of involvement in political violence, as a supporter of Catiline in 66 and 63 BC, although several specious arguments in Cicero's speech suggest that the defence case may have been rather weak. Cicero indicates that there was some sort of tension between local Pompeians and colonists, perhaps relating to political rights, although the reasons for the dispute remain

uncertain, since the precise meaning of a crucial Latin word (*ambulatio*) is unclear. He also says the dispute began during the early years of the colony. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that Sulla had intended to exploit existing tensions in order to gain support for Catiline.



Plate 2.2 A painting of Spartacus in battle?

B19 Unrest at Pompeii

[60] Now, as for the accusation that has been made, that the Pompeians were driven by Sulla into joining that conspiracy and this disgraceful crime, I cannot understand how this can be. Do you think the Pompeians conspired? Who has ever said so? Is there even the slightest trace of this? The prosecution said that Sulla divided the Pompeians from the colonists so that when this dispute and disagreement had been brought about, he would be able to have the town in his control through the Pompeians. First the whole disagreement between Pompeians and colonists was brought before the town's patrons, when it was already longestablished and had caused many years of trouble. Second the result of the enquiry was that Sulla in no respect differed from the findings of the other patrons. Finally the colonists themselves realize that Sulla looked after their interests as much as those of the Pompeians. [61] You can appreciate this, gentlemen of the jury, from this large group of dignitaries from the colonists. Although they have not been able to keep him secure in high position and office, now that he lies crushed by this fall, they are here, working hard and earnestly hoping for you to help and preserve their patron and protector, the defender of their colony. The Pompeians are here with equal enthusiasm, who are still being accused by the colonists: though in disagreement with the colonists over a promenade {*ambulatio*} and their voting rights, they agree about their common interest. [62] Furthermore, I do not think I should fail to mention this virtue of Publius Sulla, that although the colony was founded by him, and although the privileged position of the colonists was at the expense of the Pompeians, he is so dear to both and so charming that he seems not to have dispossessed one group but to have established both.

(Cicero, *Pro Sulla* 60–62)

B20 Catilinarian omens at Pompeii

Among the Catilinarian omens, a town councillor from the town of Pompeii, Marcus Herennius, was struck by lightning on a clear day.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 2.137)

This passage perhaps preserves a hint of Pompeii's involvement in Catiline's uprising, and suggests that the Pompeians' leanings to Catiline were not entirely the invention of the prosecutors of Publius Sulla. Herennius is an old Pompeian family name, suggesting that such families were not all excluded from participating in local politics by 63 BC, even if they had been in the immediate aftermath of colonization.

PROPERTY INTERESTS OF ROME'S ELITE AROUND POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM (B21–27)

Cicero owned eight country properties, in addition to his prestigious townhouse on the Palatine Hill in Rome. One of these was in the territory of Arpinum (modern Arpino), a hill-town in the Liris Valley, where he was born. In addition to farms at Neapolis (Naples) and Pompeii, Cicero also owned property at Formiae on the Appian Way (modern Formia) and at the fashionable Tusculum, 15 miles to the south-east of Rome (near modern Frascati). His Pompeian villa served at times both as a retreat from the politically oppressive atmosphere of Rome and as a potentially good location for a hasty escape by sea.

B21 The high cost of Cicero's property near Pompeii, c.3 June 60 BC

My properties at Tusculum and Pompeii please me very much, except that they have overwhelmed me (that well-known champion of borrowed copper) with copper not of the Corinthian type but of the forum.

(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 2.1.11)

In this letter to his intimate friend, Atticus, Cicero implies that he has only just bought his two estates at Tusculum and Pompeii at great expense. He puns on different meanings of the Latin word *aes* (copper or bronze). 'Borrowed copper' (*aes alienum*) is 'debt': Cicero is alluding here to his opposition to Catiline's campaign to cancel debt. 'Corinthian copper' is a special type of bronze produced at Corinth and used to make highly valued *objets d'art*. 'Copper of the forum' is another way of saying 'debt', the forum being the place where business deals were transacted.

B22 Cicero's farm near Pompeii

He possessed a fine property at Arpinum, a farm near Neapolis and another near Pompeii, neither of which was large.

(Plutarch, *Life of Cicero* 8)

B23 Sale of a farm, 9 June 45 BC

Please give someone the task of finding out whether a farm of Quintus Staberius is for sale in the area of Pompeii or Nola.

(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 13.8)

B24 A farm at Herculaneum

[Marcus Fabius] was suddenly hit by an appalling letter which told him that a farm at Herculaneum had been put up for sale by his brother, even though it was jointly owned by the two of them.

(Cicero, *Letters to his Friends* 9.25.3 = Shackleton Bailey 114)

POMPEII AS A PLACE OF REFUGE IN TROUBLED TIMES (B25–27)

In 49 BC, Julius Caesar crossed the River Rubicon, thus invading Italy and prompting the outbreak of civil war. Cicero fled from Rome in January, and remained in Campania for some months, torn between his desire to broker peace between Caesar and Pompey and his instinct to flee abroad to join Pompey and the consuls. Caesar met him in March to try to win his support. By May, Cicero decided to leave Italy, and used a trip to his Pompeian property to disguise his plans to do so (**B25–26**). Despite his best endeavours, however, he had to take swift action in order to avoid becoming involved in tricky negotiations with some centurions based at Pompeii, who wished to oppose Caesar (**B26**). Cicero's response to news that they wanted to meet him was to leave his villa before daybreak the next day in order to avoid them. Cicero had no desire to lead armed resistance against Julius Caesar and was well aware that the forces of a mere three cohorts would not be able to resist him.

B25 Cicero takes refuge at Pompeii, 10/12 May 49 BC

I am making an excursion to my Pompeian property while bread and other things are being prepared for the ship.

(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 10.15.4)

This letter was sent to Atticus from Cumae.

B26 Opposition to Caesar at Pompeii, 14 May 49 BC

In order to lessen suspicion of my departure or of my intention to depart, I set out for my Pompeian property on the 13th, so that I might be there while what was necessary for the voyage might be prepared. When I arrived at the villa, a message came to me that the centurions of three cohorts, which were at Pompeii, wanted to meet me on the following day – our friend Ninnius discussed this with me – and that they wanted to hand over themselves and the town to me.

(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 10.16.4)

This letter was also sent from Cumae. Lucius Ninnius Quadratus had been an opponent of Publius Clodius, Cicero's arch-enemy.

B27 The aftermath of Caesar's assassination, 5 November 44 BC

I have not hidden myself away at my Pompeian property, as I wrote I would, first because of the vile weather, and second because letters every day from Octavian urge me to take up public affairs, come to Capua, save the state for a second time, and immediately get to Rome, somehow.

(Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 16.11.6)

In the aftermath of the assassination of Julius Caesar, Cicero again used his property at Pompeii as a refuge from the turbulent political situation in Rome, despite apparent appeals from Octavian (later Augustus) for him to return. This letter was written to Atticus from Puteoli, at a time when Octavian was busy recruiting troops for his cause in Campania. Cicero's suppression of the Catilinarians in 63 BC (see introductory note on **B19–20**) was when he had ‘saved the state’.

DESTRUCTION OF POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

In the years leading up to the eruption, Pompeii was rocked by earthquakes, one of which, in AD 62, even impressed writers at Rome (C1–2). Two relief panels from Pompeii depict an earthquake, possibly, but not necessarily, that of AD 62 (C3). Otherwise, it is possible to see signs of earthquake damage and of structural repairs all around the site today, but these are the consequence not only of the famous tremor of AD 62 (C4). In one case – the Temple of Isis – an inscription records restoration work after extensive damage in an earthquake (C5). At Herculaneum, Emperor Vespasian himself paid for repair work to the temple of the Great Mother after it had been damaged by earth tremors (C6).

Comments about Vesuvius by writers of the Augustan era reveal that at least some people were aware of the character of the dormant volcano before it erupted in AD 79 (C7–9). The Younger Pliny's two letters describing the eruption have long been famous, but only recently have modern studies analysing the letters in the light of scientific data shown that they provide a surprisingly accurate picture of the eruption (C10–11). Although these are the most well-known and useful sources, other authors also provide accounts of the eruption, both brief and elaborate (C13–16).

The eruption had a devastating impact upon the economy, society and geography of the Bay of Naples, destroying towns, villages, villas, and farms as far as Stabiae and Herculaneum, and changing the landscape (including the coastline and course of the River Sarno) (C22–25), but we hear surprisingly little of its human victims (C17). It was one of several natural disasters to occur during the brief reign of Emperor Titus (AD 79–81), whose attempt to help the stricken area was diverted almost immediately by the outbreak of a serious fire at Rome (C18–19). Several contemporary authors recorded their reactions to the region's fate, notably the poet Statius, whose home town was Naples (C22–24, 26). Other contemporary poets were inspired to allude to the eruption in vivid metaphors or similes (C27–28). Finally, the apocalyptic nature of the eruption provoked discussion of the role of the gods among Jewish, Greek, and Christian writers alike (C30–32).

THE IMPACT OF EARTHQUAKES, AD 62–79 (C1–6)

C1 A contemporary account of a major earthquake

[1.1] We have heard, my dear Lucilius, that Pompeii, a busy town in Campania, has subsided under an earthquake. It is situated where the shore of Sorrento and Stabiae from the one side and from the other the shore of Herculeum come together and encircle with a beautiful bay the sea where it has been brought in from open waters. All the surrounding areas have also been affected. What is more, this happened during winter, a time our ancestors used to promise us was free from danger of this kind. [1.2] This tremor was on 5 February in the consulship of Regulus and Verginius, and it inflicted great devastation on Campania, a region never safe from this evil, yet which has remained undamaged and has so often got off with a fright. For part of the town of Herculeum too fell down and even the structures that remain are unstable, and the colony of Nuceria, though it escaped disaster, nevertheless is not without complaint. Naples too lost many private buildings, but no public ones, being stricken only lightly by the great disaster; even villas have collapsed, everywhere things shook without damage. [1.3] In addition, the following events occurred: a flock of 600 sheep died and statues split, some people have lost their minds and wander about in their madness. Both the plan of my proposed work and the coincidence of the misfortune at this time demand that we explain the reasons for these things.

[1.10] Therefore let us adopt great courage in the face of that disaster, which can neither be avoided nor predicted and let us stop listening to those who have renounced Campania, who have emigrated after this misfortune and say that they will never go there again. For who can promise them that this or that piece of ground stands on better foundations?

[1.12] We are mistaken if we believe any part of the world is exempt and immune from the danger of an earthquake.

[27.1] In this Campanian earthquake some peculiar things are said to have occurred, of which an account ought to be given. We have said that a herd of 600 sheep died in the area of Pompeii.

[31.1] Yet why did the earthquake last several days? For Campania shook continuously and did not stop though it became less violent. Nonetheless there was great damage, because it was shaking things that had already been shaken, and things that are hardly standing do not need to be overturned, but merely pushed, to fall down.

(Seneca the Younger, *Natural Questions*
6.1.1–3, 6.1.10, 6.1.12, 6.27.1, 6.31.1)

A disastrous earthquake in Campania inspired the Younger Seneca to discuss earthquakes at length in his *Natural Questions*. The disaster was highly

topical as Seneca's work was written between AD 62 and his death in AD 65. Another reason for Seneca's focus upon Pompeii in his account may be the local connections of the dedicatee of this work, Lucilius, alluded to in *Letters* 5.49.1 and 8.70.1. His dating of it by the consuls of AD 63, however, is at odds with Tacitus' inclusion of it in his *Annals* under AD 62 ([C2](#)).

C2 Bad omens for Nero's reign

Under the same consuls a gymnasium burned down as a result of being struck by lightning, and a statue of Nero in it was melted into shapeless bronze. And the busy town of Pompeii in Campania largely collapsed because of an earthquake; and the Vestal Virgin Laelia died: her place was taken by Cornelia from the family of the Cossi.

(Tacitus, *Annals* 15.22)

The earthquake appears here in the *Annals* in a section reviewing the minor events of AD 62.

C3 Relief panel depicting an earthquake, House of Caecilius Iucundus (V.i.26), Pompeii



Plate 3.1 Relief panel depicting an earthquake, House of Caecilius Iucundus (V.i.26), Pompeii. Photo © The Trustees of the British Museum. By kind permission of SANP

Two relief panels depict scenes during an earthquake, representing identifiable areas of Pompeii, namely the Forum ([C3](#)) and area outside the Vesuvian Gate. At least one of these reliefs ([C3](#)) belonged to the household shrine (*lararium*) of Caecilius Iucundus, and the other is probably a companion piece. For other finds from the House of Caecilius Iucundus, see [D90](#), [E76](#), [F17](#), [H102–15](#). The first panel ([C3](#)) depicts the northern side of the Forum, with the Temple of Jupiter, flanked by two equestrian statues and a monumental arch, and an altar flanked by sacrificial implements and a bull-sacrifice. The other panel shows the area at the Vesuvian Gate, with the water-distribution tower (*castellum*), the gate itself, part of the town walls, and an altar next to a tree. This gate is only a short distance to the north of Caecilius Iucundus' house. The reliefs were perhaps set up as a thank-offering to the household gods for protecting life and/or property during an earthquake.

C4 Repairs in brick to the north enclosure wall of the Temple of Apollo

C5 Rebuilding the Temple of Isis at Pompeii following an earthquake

Numerius Popidius Celsinus, son of Numerius, rebuilt at his own expense from its foundations the Temple of Isis, which had collapsed in an earthquake; because of his generosity, although he was only six years old, the town councillors nominated him into their number free of charge.

(*CIL* X 846 = *ILS* 6367)

This building-inscription was set over the main entrance to the sanctuary. The Popidii were an old, established family at Pompeii ([A28–32](#)), but Celsinus was almost certainly the son of one of that family's freedmen (Popidius Ampliatus) rather than descended from the distinguished family itself. As an ex-slave himself, his father was barred from becoming a member of the local council, but by rebuilding the temple in the name of his young son, Ampliatus ensured promotion up the social hierarchy for the next generation. For premature promotion of children in another family, see [D16](#), [F90](#). For other finds in the Temple of Isis, see [E3–9](#).

C6 Rebuilding the Temple of the Magna Mater (Great Mother) at Herculaneum, AD 76

Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus, supreme pontiff, holding tribunician power for the 7th time, hailed victorious commander 17 times, father of the fatherland, consul 7 times, designated consul for the 8th time, restored the temple of the Mother of the Gods which had collapsed in an earthquake.

(*CIL* X 1406 = *ILS* 250)



Plate 3.2 Repairs in brick to the north enclosure wall of the Temple of Apollo

This inscription was found in the area of the monumental entrance into the ‘palaestra’, *Ins. Or. II*. See also [E32](#) for another restoration at Herculaneum by Vespasian.

ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS, AD 79 (C7–16)

Although the date of the eruption has long been believed to have been 24 August AD 79, this date has not remained unchallenged. This date is derived from Pliny the Younger's letter describing the eruption ([C10](#)), but in fact manuscripts of the letter have different readings of the month in question, and Dio Cassius' account describes the eruption as being in the autumn ([C15](#)). Furthermore, Dio Cassius (66.19–20) implies that Titus received his fifteenth

imperial salutation as a result of Agricola's success in Britain before the eruption, but this is known from independent epigraphic sources to have occurred only in September (*AE* (1966) 264, *CIL* XVI 24 – Titus still *imp. xiv* on 7/8 September). Archaeologists have challenged the traditional August date in the past on various grounds, such as the types of fruit found on Vesuvian sites, arguing that the large quantities of figs, chestnuts, walnuts, and pomegranates suggest an autumn season. Berries found in 1889 upon a laurel tree outside the Stabian Gate also point to a date at some time in October/November. In particular, there is evidence to suggest that the wine harvest had already taken place before the eruption: storage jars in the wine store in the Villa della Pisanella and Villa Regina at Boscoreale were found mostly filled and double-sealed. It would have been expected that the wine storage jars would have been emptied in August, in preparation for the next vintage to be stored. Most recently, a coin of Titus has been published, which indicates that the eruption must in fact have occurred after September, since the coin has his title as *imp. xv*. This coin was found in the House of the Golden Bracelet, in a collection of coins carried by one of the eruption's victims. Finally, a recent scientific study of the direction of dispersal of volcanic debris during the AD 79 eruption supports the view that the eruption did not occur during the summer, because of the pattern of prevailing winds in the region, which change between summer and autumn. It now seems likely, therefore, that the eruption occurred on 24 October.

VOLCANIC KNOWLEDGE AMONG ANCIENT AUTHORS (C7–9)

C7 Vesuvius compared with Etna

This plain is called Phlegraean from the mountain that formerly poured forth monstrous fire like Etna in Sicily; but now the mountain is called Vesuvius and shows many signs of having burnt in ancient times.

(Diodorus of Sicily 4.21.5)

Diodorus of Sicily (Siculus) wrote a world history in c.60–30 BC, taking events from earliest times to Caesar's Gallic Wars, reproducing traditions of earlier historians and geographers. In this passage, Diodorus describes Hercules' journey through Italy (A3–6), when he defeated giants in Campania. The plain to the north of Naples was (and still is) known as 'Phlegraean', or 'Fiery'.

C8 Pompeian pumice

Also worth mentioning are the conflagrations that arose long ago and have been plentiful beneath Mount Vesuvius, and from there spewed forth fire over

the fields. For this reason then what is called sponge or Pompeian pumice seems to have been melted down from another type of stone and converted into this characteristic type.

(Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 2.6.2)

Vitruvius' work was written before 27 BC.

C9 Agricultural fertility from volcanic activity

Mount Vesuvius is situated above these places and people live all around on very beautiful farms, except at the summit. This is flat for the main part, but completely unfruitful, like ashes to look at, and it displays porous hollows of rocks blackened on the surface, as if devoured by fire. As a result, one would deduce that this area was previously on fire and held craters of fire, and that it was extinguished when the fuel failed. Perhaps this is also the reason for the fruitfulness of the surrounding area, just as at Catania they say that the part covered by ash carried up by the fire of Etna made the country suited to vine-growing.

(Strabo, *Geography* 5.4.8)

Strabo, writing before AD 25, evidently appreciated the on-going effects of past volcanic activity, which had made the area particularly fertile.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE ERUPTION BY THE YOUNGER PLINY (C10–11)

At the time of the eruption, the Elder Pliny was commanding the Roman fleet stationed at Misenum, a promontory on the northern side of the Bay of Naples. On first noticing the eruptive cloud, his spirit of scientific curiosity roused him to investigate further (he had just completed writing an extensive *Natural History*). His plan took on a humanitarian aspect on receiving a message begging for help from a friend. His nephew, the Younger Pliny, chose not to accompany him on his voyage, preferring to finish his homework, but observed the eruption from Misenum. Many years later, the historian Tacitus asked the Younger Pliny to provide him with an account of his uncle's death in the eruption, since he wanted to narrate the end of this distinguished Roman in his *Histories*. The part of this work dealing with this episode has not survived, but we do have Pliny's letters (written AD c.106/07), intended to provide vivid material for a dramatic history.

C10 The death of the Elder Pliny in the eruption

Pliny greets his friend Tacitus:

Thank you for asking me to write to you about my uncle's death, so that you can pass on a more accurate account to future generations. I realize that his death will be granted undying fame if it is celebrated by you. [2] For although he died a memorable death that will make him survive for ever, in a disaster affecting the most beautiful areas, involving people and cities, and although he himself has written many works of lasting value, nonetheless your immortal writing will do much to perpetuate his name. [3] In my opinion, lucky are those with the god-given gift either of doing something worth writing about or writing something worth reading, but luckiest of all are those who have done both. My uncle will count as one of these, through his own books and yours. Therefore I am more willing, indeed insist on undertaking what you ask.

[4] He was at Misenum, commanding the fleet in person. On 24 (?)October(?) in the early afternoon, my mother pointed out to him that a cloud of unusual size and form was appearing. [5] He had been enjoying the sun, had taken a cold bath, had eaten a light lunch while lying down, and was working. He called for his sandals and climbed to the place from which he would have the best view of the phenomenon. A cloud was rising from a mountain (those seeing it from far away could not tell which, but it was later known to be Vesuvius). Its appearance can best be expressed by comparing it to an umbrella pine, [6] for carried up to a very great height as if on a tree-trunk, it began to spread out into various branches. This was, I believe, because it was lifted up by the fresh blast, then as that died down, defeated by its own weight, it began to disperse far and wide. Sometimes it was white, sometimes dirty and speckled, according to how much soil and ash it carried. [7] To a man of my uncle's great intellect, it seemed important and worth learning about from closer at hand. He ordered a fast warship to be fitted out; he gave me the opportunity, should I wish, of coming with him. I replied that I should prefer to work, and as it happened he had given me some writing.

[8] As he was leaving the house he received a note from Rectina, the wife of Tascius, who was terrified by the imminent danger (for her villa lay at the bottom of the mountain and there was no escape except by boat) and who begged him to rescue her from so great a danger. [9] He changed his plan and what he had begun in a spirit of enquiry he ended as a hero. He ordered warships to be launched and embarked aiming to bring help to many others besides Rectina (for the beautiful coastline was thickly populated). [10] He hurried to the place from which others were fleeing and steered his course straight for the danger. So fearless was he that he dictated notes on each movement and change in shape of the disaster as he observed them.

[11] By now ash was falling on the ships; the closer they came, the hotter and denser the ash. Then pumice and blackened stones, burnt and shattered by the fire. Next, sudden shallow water and the shore blocked by debris from the mountain. He delayed a little, wondering whether to turn back, but then said to the helmsman when he warned him to do so, 'Fortune favours the brave:

head for Pomponianus.’ [12] Pomponianus was at Stabiae, cut off by being in the middle of the bay (for as the shore gradually curves round, the sea pours into it). There, although it was not yet imminent, the danger was clear, and since it was growing very close, he had carried luggage into ships, determined to flee if the adverse wind died down. My uncle, then, sailed in on a strong following wind; he embraced, consoled and encouraged the fearful Pomponianus, and in order to lessen his friend's fear by his own assurance, he ordered that he be taken to the baths. Having washed, he reclined to dinner, either cheerful or (equally impressively) pretending to be cheerful.

[13] Meanwhile, from many points on Mount Vesuvius, wide sheets of flame and soaring fires were blazing, their brightness and visibility increased by the darkness of night. My uncle, to soothe their fears, kept saying that these were fires abandoned by country folk in their panic and villas that were burning through being left uninhabited. Then he went to bed and actually fell asleep; for his breathing, which because of his large build was rather heavy and loud, was heard by those who were keeping watch by his door. [14] But the level of the courtyard from which his rooms were approached had so risen, by being filled with ashes mixed with pumice, that any further delay in the bedroom would have prevented escape. On being woken, he went out and returned to Pomponianus and the others who had remained awake. [15] They consulted together whether to stay indoors or wander in the open. For the buildings were shaking with frequent and severe tremors and seemed to be swaying to and fro as if removed from their own foundations. [16] Then again, in the open there was the fear of falling pumice stones, even though these were light and porous. On comparing the dangers, they chose the latter (in my uncle's case, reason won out; but fear in the case of the others). They put cushions on their heads, tied with cloth, as protection against falling objects. [17] Now it was day elsewhere; there it was night, blacker and denser than any night, though many torches and various lights broke it up. He decided to go down to the shore and see from close up if the sea allowed any escape, but it remained high and hostile. [18] There, lying on a cloth spread out for him, he twice demanded and drank cold water. Then the flames and the smell of sulphur which heralded the flames, made the others turn to flee, and made him get up. [19] Leaning on two young slaves he stood up and immediately collapsed, because, I gather, his breathing was obstructed by the thicker smoke, and his windpipe, which was naturally weak, narrow and often inflamed, was blocked. [20] When day returned (two days after the last he had seen), his body was found, intact, uninjured, covered and just as he had been dressed; the appearance of the body was more like someone asleep than dead.

[21] Meanwhile at Misenum, my mother and I – but this is nothing to do with your history, nor did you want me to write about anything other than his death. So I stop. One thing I shall add, that I followed up everything I witnessed or heard immediately after, when things are most accurately remembered. You will select the most important things; for it is one thing to

write a letter, another to write history; one thing to write to a friend, another to write to everyone.

Farewell.

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 6.16)

C11 Pliny the Younger's narrow escape

Pliny greets his friend Tacitus:

You say that you are encouraged by the letter in which I wrote, at your request, about the death of my uncle, to wish to learn what fears and actual dangers I endured, left at Misenum (for I began but broke off my account). ‘Although the mind shrinks from remembering ... I shall begin’. {Pliny here quotes Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.12–13, Aeneas reluctantly beginning to tell Dido the story of the sack of Troy.}

[2] After my uncle set out, I spent the rest of my time on work, since this was the reason I had stayed behind; then I had a bath, dinner, and a short, disturbed sleep. [3] For many days previously there had been earth tremors, less alarming because frequent in Campania; but that night they grew so strong that it seemed everything was not so much being moved, but being overturned. [4] My mother burst into my bedroom; I was getting up anyway but would have been woken had I been asleep. We sat in the courtyard of the house, which formed a small area separating the sea from the living quarters. [5] I am not sure whether I should call it brave or foolish (I was seventeen at the time) but I called for a book of Livy and as if reading for pleasure I continued to make the summaries I had begun. Then a friend of my uncle, who had recently come to visit him from Spain, saw my mother and me sitting down, and me actually reading, and attacked her over-indulgence and my complacency. I remained as eagerly engrossed in my book.

[6] Now it was the first hour of daylight, but the light was still weak and uncertain. Now the surrounding buildings were shaking and although we were in the open, being in a confined space, we were in great and real danger from the house collapsing. [7] Then finally we decided to leave the town; a dazed mob followed us, preferring someone else's plan to their own – the nearest they could get to prudence in their panic. They hurried us on our way, pressing in a thick crowd behind us. [8] Once out of the built-up area we stopped. There we experienced many remarkable and terrifying phenomena. The carriages which we had ordered to be brought began to move in different directions although the ground was quite level and they did not even stay still when secured by stones placed in their tracks. [9] In addition, we watched the sea apparently sucked out and driven back by the earthquake. Certainly the shoreline had advanced and stranded many sea creatures on dry sand. On the other side, a terrifying black cloud, split by twisted blasts of fire shooting in different directions, gaped to reveal long fiery shapes, similar to flashes of

lightning, only bigger. [10] Then that same friend from Spain spoke more pointedly and urgently. 'If your brother and your uncle lives, he would wish you to be safe; if he has died he would have wished you to survive. So why do you abandon your escape?' We replied that we could not undertake to think about our own safety while uncertain about his. [11] Delaying no longer, he rushed off away from the danger at great speed. Soon after that cloud sank down over the land and covered the sea. It had already shrouded and concealed Capri and hidden the part of Misenum that juts out. [12] Then my mother begged, encouraged, and ordered me to escape by whatever means I could, being a young man; she, being old and stout, would die content as long as she had not brought about my death. I, however, said I would not escape unless we did so together; then grasping her hand, I forced her to quicken her pace. She reluctantly complied and accused herself of delaying me.

[13] Now ash was falling, though still lightly. I looked back; behind our backs loomed thick blackness, which like a torrent pursued us, spreading over the earth. 'Let us turn aside,' I said, 'while we can see, to avoid being knocked down and trampled on in the darkness by the crowd around us.' [14] We had only just sat down when darkness fell, not like a moonless or cloudy night, but like when a light is extinguished in a closed room. You could hear women screaming, babies wailing, men shouting: some were calling out for their parents, others for their children, others for their spouses, and trying to recognize their voices; some lamented their own misfortune, others that of their relatives; there were some who in their fear of dying prayed for death; [15] many raised their hands to the gods; more still concluded that there were no gods and that this was the world's final and everlasting night. And there were people who exaggerated the real dangers by inventing fictitious terrors. Some were there with the news that one part of Misenum had collapsed and another part was on fire; though false, people believed it. [16] A little light returned, which seemed not to bring daylight to us, but to indicate that the fire was approaching. The fire actually halted some way off, but darkness returned, and ash in heavy falls. We repeatedly got up to shake this off, otherwise we would have been covered and even crushed by the weight. [17] I could have boasted that no groan or feeble cry escaped me in these dangers had I not believed, as a considerable consolation for my death that I was dying along with everyone and everything was dying with me.

[18] At last the darkness thinned and dissipated as into smoke or cloud; soon there was proper daylight; the sun even shone, though pale as in an eclipse. A completely changed landscape met our frightened eyes – one covered deep in ash as if by snow. [19] Returning to Misenum we saw to our physical needs and spent an anxious night wavering between hope and fear. Fear was stronger since the earthquakes continued and many people hysterically made their own sufferings and those of others seem ludicrous by their terrifying predictions. [20] As for us, not even then did we think of leaving, although we had been through dangers and expected more to come,

until there was news of my uncle.

All this is not worthy of serious history and you will read it without any intention of writing it up. But you will have only yourself to blame for asking for the account if it does not even seem worth including in a letter.

Farewell.

(Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 6.20)

C12 An umbrella pine, with Vesuvius in the background

See *Plate 3.3*.

C13 Pliny the Elder commemorated

Pliny the Elder died in a disaster in Campania; for when he was in command of the fleet at Misenum, during the eruption of Vesuvius he claimed that the reasons ought to be investigated at closer hand in a warship, and was unable to return in the face of adverse winds. He was overcome by the force of dust and ashes, or, as some think, he was killed by his slave, whom he had asked to hasten his death when he was being overcome by the heat.

(Suetonius, *On Distinguished Men – Life of Pliny the Elder*)



Plate 3.3 An umbrella pine, with Vesuvius in the background

C14 Disasters in Italy

In that period, Italy was afflicted by disasters which were either unprecedented or had not been experienced for many centuries. Cities were burnt or buried on the very fertile shore of Campania; Rome itself was

devastated by fires, which gutted its most venerable shrines, and the Capitol itself was burnt by the hands of citizens.

(Tacitus, *Histories* 1.2)

This brief allusion to the eruption in the swift-moving programmatic prologue to the *Histories* is all that survives of Tacitus' treatment of the disaster.

C15 A later dramatic account of the eruption

[21] In Campania some amazing and terrifying events took place: for during the autumn, a great fire was suddenly kindled. For Mount Vesuvius stands opposite Naples by the sea and has unquenchable fountains of fire. It was once an equal height all around and fire sprang from its centre. Only this part of the mountain is burnt, while the outside is unburnt and remains so even now. Therefore as these parts are always unburnt, while the middle is parched and burnt to ashes, the peaks around the centre preserve their original height to this day, while the whole fiery section has been consumed over time and has subsided into a hollow shape, so that the whole mountain, if I can compare great things to small, resembles an amphitheatre.

The heights of Vesuvius support trees and many vines, but the crater is given over to the fire, and gives smoke by day and flame by night, so that it seems that great quantities of all kinds of incense are being burnt in it. This happens continually to a greater or lesser extent. Often it throws up ashes whenever there is a general subsidence, and sends up stones whenever there are violent winds. It roars and bellows since its vents are not compacted but are narrow and hidden.

[22] This is what Vesuvius is like and these phenomena generally happen each year. But all the other things that have happened there over the years, although they always seem impressive and unusual to those who see them, would, even if all put together, be thought trivial in comparison with what then took place. This was as follows.

Many huge men, greater than human size, as giants are depicted, made an appearance, now on the mountain, now in the surrounding countryside and the cities, wandering day and night on the earth and passing through the air. After this were terrible droughts and sudden violent earthquakes, so that the whole plain seethed and the summits leapt up, there were roars, some underground like thunder, some on the surface like bellowing of oxen. The sea too roared and the sky re-echoed it. Then a sudden portentous crash was heard as if the mountains were collapsing, and first enormous stones were thrown up to reach the height of the mountain-tops themselves, then great quantity of fire and endless smoke so that the whole sky was shaded, the sun completely hidden as if eclipsed. [23] So day became night, light darkness. Some thought the giants were rising in revolt (for many of their forms could be seen through the smoke, and in addition a sound of trumpets was heard). Others thought that

the whole universe was being consumed by chaos or fire. Therefore they fled, some from their houses into the streets, some from outside indoors; from the sea inland and from there to the sea, since in their confusion they thought that wherever they were not was safer than where they were. At the same time, an unbelievable quantity of ash was blown out, covering land, sea, and all the sky. Not surprisingly, it did a great deal of damage to men, farms, and cattle. It destroyed all fish and birds and, in addition, it buried two whole cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, while its population was sitting in the theatre. The whole cloud of dust was so great that some of it reached Africa, Syria and Egypt; it also reached Rome, filling the sky above it and darkening the sun. It occasioned no little fear for several days since people did not know and could not imagine what had happened, but thought that everything was being turned upside down and that the sun was vanishing into the earth and the earth being lifted into the heavens. However, this ash did them no great damage, but later brought a terrible plague on them.

(Dio Cassius 66.21–23 (continued in C19))

Even though Dio himself was alive at the time of the later eruption of AD 202, the details of this passage are far from accurate, since the author's aim here is dramatic description rather than historical veracity. In addition, this description is only preserved through a summary by Xiphilinos.

C16 A later chronicle's account

Mount Vesuvius burst open at its summit, and so much fire spurted forth that it consumed the surrounding countryside together with the towns.

(Eusebius, *Chronicle* AD 79)

Eusebius (AD c.265–c.339) was a bishop and writer on Church history. His *Chronicle* is a world chronological table from Abraham.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE ERUPTION (C17–32)

C17 CVictims of the eruption

How that young man was killed with his wife in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in the times of Titus Caesar, I shall reveal after this.

(Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 20.7.2)

Individual victims of Vesuvius are rarely mentioned. One exception, mentioned by Josephus, is Agrippa, the son of Antonius Felix and Drusilla. Felix was an imperial freedman, and extraordinarily the emperor Claudius' procurator (governor) of Judaea (AD c.52–60). He made three exceptional

marriages, all to royalty. Drusilla was a Jewish princess, daughter of Agrippa I. Josephus does not fulfil his promise to describe Agrippa's death. For possibly a less direct allusion to death caused by the eruption, see [C24](#). Josephus (AD 37/8–after 103), was a Jewish historian brought to Rome from the sacked Jerusalem by Vespasian. He wrote two extensive historical works, *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*.

C18 Relief work by Emperor Titus

In his reign, several dreadful disasters occurred – an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania, a fire at Rome that burned for three days and nights, and one of the worst ever outbreaks of the plague. In the face of all these disasters, he displayed not merely the concern of an emperor but also the deep love of a father, whether by offering messages of sympathy or by giving all the financial help he could. He selected by lot some senators of consular rank to regenerate Campania, and allocated the property of those who had died in the eruption and who had no surviving heirs to the renewal of the afflicted towns.

(Suetonius, *Titus* 8.3)

Titus had only succeeded his father Vespasian as emperor a few months before the eruption occurred. The significance of Titus' action in allocating the property of those who died without heirs to relief work lies in the fact that such property would otherwise have entered the imperial coffers. Inscriptions at Naples, Salerno, and Sorrento show how Titus contributed to the rebuilding of towns damaged, though not destroyed, during the eruption, and one at Nuceria shows the emperor Domitian rebuilding the theatre there.

C19 Financial aid from Titus

In the following year, a fire on the ground spread over a very large part of Rome while Titus was away following the disaster in Campania... Titus therefore sent two ex-consuls to Campania to refund the settlements and gave money and the possessions of those who had died without heirs. Titus himself took no money from individuals or cities or kings although many kept giving and promising him large sums, but restored all the damage from his resources.

(Dio Cassius 66.24.1, 3–4 (continuation from [C15](#)))

C20 Salvaging on site

House tunnelled through.

(*CIL* IV 2311, House of N. Popidius Priscus (VII.ii.20), Pompeii)

The extent of salvaging in the immediate aftermath of the eruption is much

debated, but this text (Latin, but written in Greek letters) was clearly scratched upon the right wall of the entrance way. It appears to be a statement that the house has been explored and salvaged. This is supported by holes in the walls and by the fact that hardly anything was found in the house, except for a bronze statue, which had been stored in a more out-of-the-way place. This suggests that the salvaging was the act not of the house's owner, nor of someone acquainted with the house, but perhaps took place at some time after the eruption.

C21 Possible signs of salvaging in antiquity, according to 1814 excavation report

14 August 1814: At the Basilica, we finished clearing the large room, which I mentioned in my previous report, and some broken marble slabs were found there; both their small number and their being found all in confusion indicate that already the ancients had salvaged some of them.

(*PAHI*, Part 3, p.158)

Pompeii's Forum and its surrounding buildings were excavated in 1813–24. The excavation reports of this period are particularly patchy, with whole periods remaining unaccounted for. This extract shows that the archaeologists suspected that salvaging had taken place already in antiquity.

THE ERUPTION'S IMPACT, ACCORDING TO A LOCAL POET (C22–25)

Statius (AD c.45/50–96) was a court poet of Domitian, who was born in Naples, and whose selection of poems known as the *Silvae* (AD c.93–95) often comments upon his native region. He was particularly moved by the fate of his region of birth, not least since he knew individuals who were affected by the eruption. Book 3 of the *Silvae* was published AD 93/94; Book 4 in AD 95; Book 5 posthumously, in around AD 96.

C22 The survival of the local population

Vesuvius' peak and the dread mountain's fiery storm have not depleted the terrified cities of their citizens so much; they stand and their populations thrive.

(Statius, *Silvae* 3.5.72–5)

Statius may be alluding to towns other than Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae, such as Naples and Sorrento, which must have suffered in the eruption from fallout and earth tremors, but which soon recovered.

C23 The devastation of the eruption

These things I am singing to you, Marcellus, on the Cumaean shores, where Vesuvius revived its curbed anger, billowing forth fires to rival Etna's flames. Amazing truth! Will future generations believe, when crops and these now deserted places once more thrive again, that cities and peoples are buried below and that ancestral lands have disappeared, having shared in the same fate? Not yet does the mountain-top cease to threaten death.

(Statius, *Silvae* 4.4.78–85)

C24 Human loss

Behold, now a third child increases the family of illustrious Menecrates. A noble crowd of princes grows for you and consoles you for the losses caused by mad Vesuvius.

(Statius, *Silvae* 4.8.3–5)

Julius Menecrates, also from Naples, was the son-in-law of Pollio Felix, whose villa on the Sorrentine promontory is eulogized by Statius in another poem. This may allude to the loss of human life in Menecrates' family caused by the eruption.

C25 The eruption's impact on the landscape

Here is Vesuvius, just now covered with green shady vines; here the noble grape had squeezed out drenching pools; these the ridges, which Bacchus loved more than the hills of Nysa; on this mountain the Satyrs recently performed their dances; this was the home of Venus, more pleasing to her than Lacedaemon; this place was famous for Hercules' divine presence. Everything lies submerged in flames and sad ash; and the gods above would not wish they had such power.

(Martial, *Epigram* 4.44)

Martial, AD c.40–102, published his fourth book of epigrams in December AD 88.

ECHOES OF THE ERUPTION IN LITERATURE (C26–29)

C26 Poetic inspiration

It was already your intention to lament the fires of Vesuvius in a poetic tribute and to spend your efforts lamenting the ruin of your country, when the Father uprooted the mountain from the earth, lifted it to heaven, and cast it down on to the pitiable cities all around.

Statius reveals his father's unfulfilled plans to write a poem about the eruption.

C27 A volcanic simile

As when perhaps the fatal peak of Hesperian Vesuvius thundered as it burst apart, only just has the fiery storm twisted the mountain, but already the ash has clothed eastern cities.

(Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 4.507–09)

This is one of two striking similes in *The Voyage of the Argonauts* (written AD 70–80) in which the poet compares moments during battles with the erupting volcano (compare 3.208–10).

C28 A bad omen

Vesuvius thundered as well, whirling Etna's fires from its rocks, and the Phlegraean peak reached the trembling stars with the boulders hurled into the clouds.

(Silius Italicus, *Punic Wars* 8.653–55)

In his epic poem on the struggles between Rome and Carthage in the Punic Wars, Silius Italicus (AD c.25–101) presents an eruption of Vesuvius as the culmination of a whole sequence of bad omens that predicted disaster for the Romans on the battlefield at Cannae. This does not record a historical eruption of 216 BC, but reflects the impact of the eruption of AD 79 upon the imagination of contemporary onlookers.

C29 Reflections of the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius

How many whole cities have, so to speak, died – Helice, Pompeii, Herculaneum and innumerable others?

(Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* 4.48)

The eruption was still in the thoughts of emperor and philosopher Marcus Aurelius almost 100 years later (reigned AD 161–180). Helice was a town of Achaëa, swallowed by the sea (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 2.206).

THE ROLE OF THE GODS IN THE ERUPTION (C30–32)

C30 A Jewish prediction of doom

But when, some day, fire escapes from an underground fissure in the land of Italy and reaches the expanse of the heavens, it will destroy many towns and men with its flames, and much dense ash will fill the great sky, and drops will fall from heaven like red ochre, then know the wrath of the heavenly God, on those who destroyed the blameless race of the pious.

(*Sibylline Oracle* 4.130–6)

The *Sibylline Oracles* were a collection of oracles in Greek hexameter verse, compiled in the 5th century AD. They are of varying date and anonymous authorship, imitating the pagan prophecies uttered by the Sibyls. The fourth *Sibylline Oracle* is a composite oracle, containing a Hellenistic political oracle and a later Jewish insertion of the AD 80s. The Sibyl predicts the rise and fall of a succession of kingdoms, culminating in the fall of the Roman Empire. This passage follows an account of the sack of Jerusalem (by Vespasian and Titus in AD 70).

C31 A Greek defence of prophecy

Time has delivered the recent and new misfortunes around Cumae and Dikaiarcheia not long ago commemorated and chanted through the Sibylline books, just as it ought, with the bursting out of the mountain's fire and the sea's seething, with burning rocks thrown up by the wind, and the destruction of so many great towns, so that their location is imperceptible and uncertain to anyone going there in broad daylight, now that the land has been turned topsy-turvy.

(Plutarch, *Moralia* 398E, *The Oracles at Delphi*)

This passage is part of a defence of the accuracy of the Pythian Sibyl at Delphi, and claims to illustrate how her divinely inspired prophecy predicted Vesuvius' eruption. Later on, at *Moralia* 566E (*The Divine Vengeance*), Plutarch represents his visionary as actually hearing the Sibyl make this prophecy. Dikaiarcheia is the Greek name for Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli). For the Sibylline prophecy, see [C30](#).

C32 Christian defence against pagans

But neither Etruria nor Campania had yet complained about Christians at that time, when fire flooded Vulsinii from the sky and Pompeii from its own mountain.

(Tertullian, *Apology* 40.8)

In AD c.197, Tertullian, writing in defence of Christianity, argued that the wrath of the pagan gods against Christians neglecting their worship cannot be sufficient explanation for natural disasters, given that no Christians lived at Pompeii when Vesuvius erupted. He used the same pair of examples at *Ad*

LEISURE

Pompeii's Amphitheatre is the oldest surviving building of its kind in the Roman world. Its dedicatory inscription shows that it was built in *c.*70 BC (**B12**), and other inscriptions reveal later phases in its building history (**D1–5**). It was repaired and reinforced following earthquake damage during the last years of the town's existence, perhaps under the supervision of the Cuspii Pansae (**D6–7**). The arena wall inside the Amphitheatre was originally painted with scenes of wild beasts; these were recorded in excavation reports, but were destroyed by frost damage soon after they had been uncovered (**D10**). Despite the Amphitheatre being the venue par excellence for various sorts of shows, some were still being performed in the Forum in the Augustan era, several decades after the Amphitheatre had been built (**D11**). The reason for this was that these games were an integral part of the festival to honour Apollo, whose temple stood adjacent to the Forum. By contrast, Herculaneum had no Amphitheatre, although this did not stop games from being held in a different venue in the town, perhaps in the Forum (**D12, D53**).

Some of the most distinctive sights at Pompeii today are the inscriptions painted in black and red upon the whitewashed plaster façades of shops, houses, public buildings, and tombs. These painted notices, or *dipinti*, announcing forthcoming games provide a unique insight into the presentation of shows by members of the local elite and illustrate aspects of their organization. They illustrate clearly how the funding of gladiatorial shows was a significant investment by magistrates and those who aspired to become magistrates alike. The notices are similar in location and format to electoral notices; this reflects the way in which games and elections belonged to the same context of local politics. Over seventy such inscriptions have been found in the town, from which we can discover who presented games at Pompeii, when they were staged, and information about the types of show (**D14–29**). Some of the most impressive and unusual notices are those advertising games sponsored by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius (**D14–29**). Others even advertise games in other towns in the region (**D30–35**). Only a single similar notice has so far been uncovered at Herculaneum (**D13**).

Gladiatorial shows were highly popular; in addition to the notices announcing future games, past games were commemorated in a variety of media, including stucco, painting, and graffiti (**D31–33, D36–38, F92, F111**). Some of these pictures were commissioned by those who had provided the

games, in order to provide a lasting record of their generosity. Some of the elite had depicted on their tombs the games that they had presented to the populace (D36, F92, F111). Graffiti drawings of gladiators and the fight results can be found in many parts of the town (D38). On one notorious occasion, the spectators– rivalry spilled over into a riot, giving a foretaste of football hooliganism two thousand years later (D39–46)! Two training-grounds for gladiators have also been discovered. In the mid-first century AD, the large portico behind the Large Theatre was converted into a gladiatorial barracks (D47–48). Previously, gladiators had been trained in the ‘House of the Gladiators’, where many graffiti relating to gladiators have been found (D49–53).

We have a less vivid picture of other types of spectacle at Pompeii, but theatrical shows were also well established (see A26 for mosaics of scenes from the comedies of Menander). The Large Theatre at Pompeii was initially built during the second century BC, and was extensively modified during the Augustan era, probably c.2 BC (D54–59). The presiding magistrates at the shows would have been seated upon wide honorific chairs of metal with ivory ornamentation, traces of which were found in the eighteenth century (D60). As at the Amphitheatre, spectators in the Theatre were protected by an awning, as can be seen from the brackets that remain, which supported the masts.

Adjacent to Pompeii's Large Theatre, which seated around 5,000, is the Covered Theatre, or Odeion (D61–62). This had a much smaller seating capacity of around 2,000 (still very large by modern standards; the new Royal Shakespeare Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon seats 1,060). Some clues remain as to the character of performances in these venues, the highbrow and lowbrow alike. What appear to be theatre tokens imply that Greek drama was staged at Pompeii (D69–72), while it is highly likely that the ‘Atellan’ slapstick farces, a traditional part of this region's culture, were also performed. Although gladiators seem to have dominated popular enthusiasms, actors could also attract fans (D74–82). Finds of fragmentary instruments help to create some impression of the musical accompaniments to performances (D60). Finally, basins for water beneath the *orchestra* of the Large Theatre may have powered a water organ, or have been used for aquatic spectacles, while a cistern above the Theatre may have provided water for sprinkling the audience – an amenity occasionally advertised on notices of games in the Amphitheatre (e.g. D27). Theatrical entertainments were also performed in Herculaneum's Theatre, the first structure to be excavated in the town (D63–68).

Literary pursuits spilled over into other areas of Pompeii as well. Excerpts from all the Latin poets who were well known at the time, except Horace, appear in graffiti (Appendix 2). In most cases, quotations are reproduced verbatim, but there is also a sophisticated parody upon the opening lines of Virgil's *Aeneid* (D83). There is even an otherwise unknown local poet,

Tiburtinus, who scratched a few verses upon the walls of the Odeion (**D85**), and many other short love poems can be found (**D86–92**). In addition, word plays (including ‘magic’ squares – **D99–100**) and amusing sketches combining words and pictures (**D96–98**) suggest that some inhabitants spent a considerable amount of their leisure time scribbling up graffiti! Obscenities and insults are also common, and brief accounts of sexual encounters occur famously in the brothel (**D118–20**), but are by no means confined to its walls, as can be seen from graffiti in the Suburban Baths at Herculaneum (**D126–28**).

Eight different bathing establishments have so far been identified at Pompeii: Stabian Baths (VII.i.8), Republican Baths (VII.v.36), Forum Baths (VII.v), Central Baths (IX.iv), Sarno Baths (VIII.ii.17, 22–24), Suburban Baths, Baths of Julia Felix (II.iv.3) and Baths of Crassus Frugi. Six of these may have been operational simultaneously at the time of the eruption in AD 79, with the Republican Baths having fallen out of use before the Augustan era and the Central Baths being as yet unfinished. Although Pompeii was destroyed before the heyday of Roman bath buildings, the Stabian Baths at Pompeii are the oldest preserved public baths (**D121**). Other early public baths, the Republican Baths (VII.v.36) of c.100–80 BC, fell out of use by the Augustan period. In addition, several sets of privately owned baths tried to attract customers by advertising their amenities. Their owners aimed to make a profit by providing exclusive bathing for the discerning customer. The Baths of Crassus Frugi are known only from an inscription (**D125**), but the Baths of Julia Felix (**H73**), the Sarno Baths (VIII.ii.17), Palaestra Baths (VIII.ii.23, part of the Sarno Baths complex) (see also **H60**) and Suburban Baths have all been excavated. A few of the most luxurious houses boasted their own small bath suites (e.g. House of the Faun, House of the Menander, House of the Silver Wedding). At Herculaneum, the Central Baths (VI.1–6) from the mid/late first century BC are similar to the public baths at Pompeii, with separate male and female sections, while the Suburban Baths were a more modern luxurious facility, dating from the Flavian period. Graffiti from these baths give a lively impression of some of their visitors (**D126–30**). A third set of baths has also been identified during excavations in 1996–98 of the ‘north-west *insulae*’.

THE AMPHITHEATRE AT POMPEII

(D1–10)

Built in c.70 BC (**B12**), the Amphitheatre abuts on the town's defensive walls in the south-eastern district of the town. The large quantities of soil removed to create the sunken arena were piled up to support the spectators' seating. It may have had a seating capacity of c.20,000, which was more than enough seats to cater for the whole of Pompeii's population and for an almost equally large number of visitors too. Spectators were divided up and allocated seats in different parts of the auditorium according to their social status. Intermingling of the common crowd with the elite was avoided; a system of separate entrances and tunnels gave access to the lower tiers of seating, while external staircases led directly to the upper tiers for the masses. It seems likely that women were confined to the uppermost seats, where they may have been allocated seats in 'boxes', each with a capacity of up to fourteen people. Magistrates and others funding the games would have occupied double-width honorific seats (*bisellia*) in special boxes near to the arena. A canvas awning (*vela*) stretching out over the seating, supported by tall wooden masts, protected spectators from light rain and sun alike.

CONSTRUCTION OF STONE SEATING IN THE AMPHITHEATRE (D1–5)

In a series of inscriptions on the upper part of the wall dividing the arena from the spectators' seating appear the names of benefactors who paid for the construction of the stone seating during the Augustan period. This replaced the earliest seating, which was probably wooden. Each inscription relates to a particular section, or wedge, of seating (*cuneus*). The phrase 'instead of games' implies that the 'benefactors' concerned were actually thus fulfilling their legal obligation to spend a certain amount of money in their year of office either on games or on a monument (**B13; D61**). The references to lights allude to performances held at night under artificial illumination.

D1 Section of seating funded by district presidents

The presidents of the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District (built this) instead of games, by decree of the town councillors.

(CIL × 853 = ILS 5653e)

The identity of the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District (*pagus auustus felix suburbanus*) is not known. The word *pagus* usually implies a rural location but the district was closely integrated into the life of the colony

and had existed before the Augustan period as the Fortunate Suburban district. The text appears inscribed on two parts of the balustrade, indicating that the presidents had paid for two separate sections of seating to be constructed.

D2a Section of seating funding by magistrate T. Atullius Celer

Titus Atullius Celer, son of Gaius, duumvir, instead of games and lights, saw to the construction of a seating sector, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 854)

D2b Seating-inscription of T. Atullius Celer



Plate 4.1 Seating-inscription of T. Atullius Celer

D3 Section of seating funded by magistrate L. Saginius

Lucius Saginius, duumvir with judicial power, instead of games and lights, by decree of the town councillors, (built this) seating sector.

(*CIL* X 855 = *ILS* 5653c)

D4 Section of seating funded by magistrate N. Istacidius Cilix

Numerius Istacidius Cilix, son of Numerius, duumvir, instead of games and lights.

**D5 Section of seating funded by magistrate
M. Cantrius Marcellus**

Marcus Cantrius Marcellus, son of Marcus, duumvir, instead of games and lights, saw to the construction of three seating sectors, by decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 857d = ILS 5653a)

**THE AMPHITHEATRE RESTORED AFTER
EARTHQUAKE DAMAGE (D6–9)**

The following inscriptions appear below two large niches opposite each other, which flank the passageway leading down into the arena on the north side of the Amphitheatre. This would presumably have been the entrance used by processions entering the building. Although it is generally assumed that the niches above held honorific portrait statues of the father and son named on the inscriptions, there are signs of a metal grille barring off the niches. This suggests that something of great value stood there, perhaps precious-metal statues of deities. The fact that the inscriptions are in the nominative (instead of the dative) case also implies that they are not honorific in character, but record something that the two men have done. They might, therefore, have donated such statues. Another suggestion is that Cuspius Pansa, father, was appointed as a prefect following the earthquake of AD 62, with special responsibility for helping to sort out the town. One of his tasks, then, may have been seeing to the restoration and reinforcement of the Amphitheatre. This certainly happened, as can be seen from the addition of brick buttresses to shore up existing structures. The same men were honoured with statues in the Forum (D8–9).

D6 C. Cuspius Pansa, senior, in the Amphitheatre

Gaius Cuspius Pansa, the father, son of Gaius, duumvir with judicial power four times, quinquennial, prefect with judicial power by decree of the town councilors in accordance with the Petronian Law.

(CIL X 858 = ILS 6359)

D7 C. Cuspius Pansa, junior, in the Amphitheatre

Gaius Cuspius Pansa, the son, son of Gaius, priest, duumvir with judicial power.

(CIL X 859 = ILS 6359a)

D8 C. Cuspius Pansa, senior, honoured in the Forum

To Gaius Cuspius Pansa, son of Gaius, duumvir with judicial power four times, quinquennial. By decree of the town councillors, at public expense.

(*CIL* X 790)

D9 C. Cuspius Pansa, junior, honoured in the Forum

To Gaius Cuspius Pansa, the son, son of Gaius, priest, duumvir with judicial power. By decree of the town councillors, at public expense.

(*CIL* X 791)

PAINTING IN THE AMPHITHEATRE (D10)

Although the Amphitheatre was one of the earliest buildings excavated on the site, in 1748, it was the policy at that time to cover over again any buildings uncovered, once finds (such as paintings) had been removed from them. The Estate of Julia Felix also received such treatment. Consequently, the Amphitheatre was actually excavated twice, the second time in 1813–16. Although in general we now deplore the eighteenth-century practice of removing paintings from the site for display in the royal collection, such paintings were at least preserved in this way. By contrast, the scenes painted around the balustrade, or parapet, between the Amphitheatre's arena and seating, depicting wild beast fights and gladiators, were destroyed by frost. They are now known only through watercolour scenes painted by F. Morelli at some time before 1816, and through these brief descriptions from the excavation notebooks. The paintings seem unlikely to have been images of the types of wild beasts hunted at Pompeii: the arena wall would not have been sufficiently high to protect the spectators from big cats, for instance, and so it seems that the paintings reflected the aspirations of Pompeii's games-givers rather than the reality.

D10 Uncovering paintings inside the arena: excavation reports, February 1815

2–9 February 1815: In the Amphitheatre, we proceeded to discover the paintings with which the final parapet was decorated. 45 workmen, 12 carts.

12 February 1815: The pictures around the last parapet continued to be discovered; among them has emerged a picture with a green background, depicting a tiger chasing a boar.

23 February 1815: In the Amphitheatre, in the last parapet, which separates off the arena on the right as one descends from the door, a small space was discovered, an entrance into another corridor, with two gladiators painted on

either side of this space. Workmen 52, carts 12.

8 March 1815: On the final parapet which separates off the arena, towards the west, has emerged another picture, which depicts a panther chasing a deer.

6 April 1815: Work was carried out with 70 workers and 14 carts, whom Aquila's contractor had employed. All of the above workmen were solely employed in clearing the interior of the Amphitheatre, and particularly in finding the arena, which is almost totally covered, with only a small portion of it remaining and which we hope in the course of the current week to see entirely cleared. Following the emergence of the other pictures on the last parapet, which separates off the arena, we saw another one, which depicts a mastiff fighting a bull.

7 April 1815: At 22 hours today the arena of the Amphitheatre was entirely uncovered.

(*PAH* I, Part 3 pp. 169–71)

GAMES IN THE FORUM AND AMPHITHEATRE AT POMPEII (D11)

D11 Games of Apollo

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, military tribune by popular demand.

In his first duumvirate, at the games of Apollo in the Forum (he presented) a procession, bulls, bull-fighters, and their fleet-footed helpers, three pairs of stage-fighters, boxers fighting in bands, and Greek-style pugilists; also (he presented) games with every musical entertainment, pantomime, and Pylades; and he gave 10,000 sesterces to the public coffers.

In return for his second duumvirate, which was also his quinquennial duumvirate, at the games of Apollo (he presented) in the Forum a procession, bulls, bull-fighters and their fleet-footed helpers, and boxers fighting in bands; on the next day in the Amphitheatre (he presented) by himself thirty pairs of athletes and five pairs of gladiators, and with his colleague (he presented) thirty-five pairs of gladiators and a hunt with bulls, bull-fighters, boars, bears and the other hunt-variations.

In his third duumvirate (he presented) with his colleague games by a foremost troupe, with extra musical entertainment.

(*CIL* X 1074d = *ILS* 5053.4)

This inscription (now lost), from the early first century AD, appeared on the

family tomb of the Clodii, and commemorated the career of Aulus Clodius Flaccus, whose name also appears on the measuring-table in the Forum (H98). It places especial emphasis on the games that he gave at the festival in honour of Apollo, each time he held the duumvirate, illustrating how Roman games were not just a form of entertainment, but could have religious significance too. He was duumvir for the third time in 2/1 BC, with Holconius Rufus as his colleague. Such is the level of detail in describing exactly what performances were put on that several words in the inscription, for different types of bull-fighters and boxers, are not found elsewhere. Pylades was a famous actor at Rome in the Augustan era, and this may explain why his name is included here. The games described include a whole variety of performers and took place not just in the Amphitheatre, but also in the Forum. This may be partly because of the proximity of the Temple of Apollo to the Forum, but may also reflect the continuation of practices predating the construction of the Amphitheatre. Vitruvius (*On Architecture* 5.1.1–2) notes that it was usual for gladiatorial fights to be displayed in the fora of Italian towns.

GAMES AT HERCULANEUM (D12–13)

D12 Gladiatorial graffito

On 22 February, at the games(?) of Numisius Genialis, 10 pairs of gladiators will fight at Herculaneum.

(CIL IV 10579)

This graffito, which appears uniquely to announce forthcoming gladiatorial combat at Herculaneum, was found on a column in the *atrium* of *Ins.* V.30. Compare D53.

D13 A games announcement?

Nola. Signwriter Aprilis from Capua.

(AE (1989) 182b)

The word ‘Nola’ appears painted in large red letters on a layer of plaster beneath the wine-shop sign (H22; see Plate 8.1) on the façade of *Ins.* VI.14. The signwriter's name is written in smaller letters, in between the L and A of Nola. In format it closely resembles notices of games at Pompeii, but what now survives is too fragmentary for us to be sure of its original message: Pagano (1988a).

ORGANIZATION OF GAMES AT POMPEII:

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF SHOWS (D14–29)

Most of our evidence for the organization of the games comes from painted notices advertising forthcoming shows. Games were apparently given all year round (only the month of September is missing from the surviving notices) and celebrated different occasions. Typically, the notice advertises the date, giver of the games, type of show to be exhibited and additional attractions for the audience, such as the provision of an awning or sprinkling of water to refresh spectators in the heat. Some of the inscriptions advertise games to be given in other towns, even as far away as Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli, 25 miles from Pompeii) (D30–35). The notices were painted by specialist signwriters, who sometimes added their names. In addition to gladiatorial combat, wild beast fights and athletic shows were also exhibited.

Lavish games presented by Pompeians were calculated to win popularity and prestige, to help in climbing the greasy pole of local political advancement. Lucretius Satrius Valens, for example, appears to have arranged for gladiatorial shows in his son's name as well as his own, perhaps when his son was still a child (D16–19). Magistrates and *Augustales* were, however, obliged to spend a certain amount of money during their year in office, and some of the notices probably record such games, although they still give the impression that they are gifts to the town rather than obligatory payments (B13).

D14 Painted notices for games at Pompeii



Plate 4.2 Painted notices for games at Pompeii

This shows a section of painted notices preserved along the Street of

Abundance, including the end of a notice by Lucretius Satrius Valens and his son (left) (D18) and a notice of Alleius Nigidius Maius (right) (D26). In between is a political poster, calling for the election of a Satrius as quinquennial (F2). This may well be the Satrius Valens whose games are prominently advertised nearby, suggesting how electoral campaigning and the giving of games could be closely interlinked.

D15 Games in Pompeii and other towns in the region

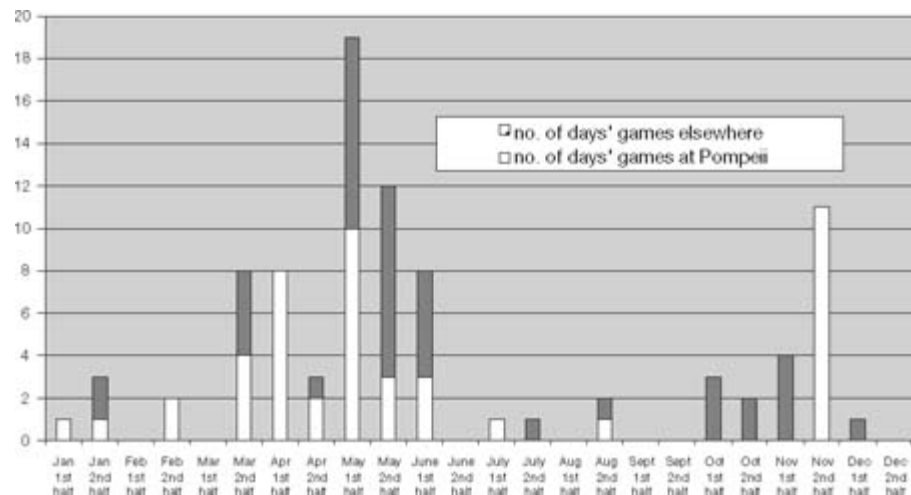


Figure 4.1 Bar-chart: half-monthly distribution of games in Pompeii and other towns in the region

Appendix 1 provides the data upon which this bar-chart is based.

GAMES GIVEN BY FATHER AND SON:
THE LUCRETII VALENTES (D16–20)

The Lucretii Valentēs were a prominent family, whose lavish gladiatorial shows are known from painted notices and other inscriptions. These suggest that paying for public spectacles played no small part in promoting the family's political success. Their close association with the Amphitheatre is reflected in the fact that the name Lucretius Valens also appears on the painting of the riot (D41b). The joint presentation of games by father and son is unusual at Pompeii, but is a feature of this particular family, with two different father/son pairs funding similarly lavish games during the mid-first century AD. The family was linked to the imperial family, with one individual being given equestrian status by Claudius, and his adopted son then acting as priest of Nero.

D16 Thirty-five pairs of gladiators and hunt,

To Decimus Lucretius Valens, son of Decimus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, honoured by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus with a public horse; nominated on to the town council free of charge, aged eight, a[edile, duumvir with judicial power]. Together with his father, he presented thirty-five pairs of gladiators with a regular hunt. On account of his generosity, the town council (decreed) that he be given a [funeral] and a burial-place, that he receive a public eulogy, and that an equestrian statue be set up at public expense. The *Augustales* and inhabitants of the country district also decreed him pedestrian statues, and their attendants, the cushion-sellers and clapper-beaters, and inhabitants of the Forum region decreed him shields. He lived for [...] years.

(*AE* (2008) 313)

This commemorative plaque on the façade of the family tomb found at Scafati just outside Pompeii (compare [F90](#)) honoured D. Lucretius Valens, who was probably born in AD c.10, was appointed to the town council when only eight years old, and then went on to hold municipal magistracies and to receive equestrian status from the emperor Claudius, probably during the census of 47/48. Nothing else is known of his father. His generosity in funding gladiatorial games is cited as a reason for his public honours. The inscription shows that in addition to the town councillors, the *Augustales* and inhabitants of the country district (all of whom are recorded as having voted honours in other epitaphs), and other groups voted him honours at his untimely demise. The *nates*, *scabiliari* and *foreses* voted him shields (i.e. his portrait carved within a shield for public display). The *scabiliari* are probably the group who beat time using clappers (*scabilla*) for dancers in the theatre, and the *nates* may be cushion-sellers there. The *foreses* are probably the inhabitants of the Forum-region and also occur in an electoral notice ([F21](#)), but the other groups are otherwise unheard of in Pompeii.

D17 Five days of games

20 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius <Celer wrote this> Satrius Valens, perpetual priest of Nero Caesar, son of Augustus, and 10 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius Valens, his son, will fight at Pompeii on 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 April. There will be a regular hunt and awnings. Aemilius Celer wrote this on his own by the light of the moon.

(*CIL* IV 3884 = *ILS* 5145)

D. Lucretius Satrius Valens was probably adopted as son by the equestrian D. Lucretius Valens ([D16](#)). His son, mentioned here, appears to have been a candidate for the aedileship in AD 68, while Satrius Valens himself had died before AD 79; his burial place is marked in the family tomb enclosure. The post of priest of Nero as Caesar must have been created once Nero was

adopted by Claudius (here referred to simply as ‘Augustus’) in AD 50. This notice was painted on the west side of IX 8, at some time after AD 50. The writer signs his notice twice; once within the large ‘C’ of ‘Lucreti’ and also to the right hand side of the notice. See **F74–80** for more on signwriters.

D18 Thirty pairs of gladiators, AD 50–68

20 pairs of gladiators of Decimus <Poly(bius?)> Lucretius Satrius Valens, perpetual priest of [[Nero]] Caesar, son of Augustus, and 10 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius Valens will fight at Pompeii on 4(?) April. There will be a hunt and awnings.

(*CIL* IV 7992)

This notice is painted in black and red lettering upon the House of Trebius Valens (III.ii.1). The name ‘Nero’ was plastered over in this notice and in **D19**, perhaps after he committed suicide in AD 68. The signwriter's name, Poly(bius?), is enclosed within the initial D. of D(ecimus).

D19 Thirty pairs of gladiators, AD 50–68

20 pairs of gladiators of Decimus Lucretius Satrius Valens, perpetual priest of [[Nero]] Caesar, son of Augustus, and 10 pairs of [gladiators] of Decimus Lucretius Valens, his son, on 28 March. There will be a hunt and awnings.

(*CIL* IV 7995)

This notice appears in black and red lettering on III.vi.2, and is repeated outside the Gladiators' Barracks (*CIL* IV 1185), on the external wall of the Large Theatre, where Nero's name was not erased, however.

D20 Lucretius Valens acclaimed

[Good fortune] to the priest of Nero Caesar.

(*CIL* IV 7996)

The giving of games over a five-day period is unusual (**D17**), so it is not surprising that Lucretius Satrius Valens had good wishes heaped upon him (**D41b**). This acclamation was painted at III.vii.1, on the opposite side of the doorway to **D19**, suggesting some attention was paid to the location of these notices.

GAMES PRESENTED BY INDIVIDUALS (D21–23)

D21 An aedile's games, AD 54–68

The gladiatorial troupe of Aulus Suetius Certus, aedile, will fight at Pompeii

on 31 May. There will be a hunt and awnings.

(CIL IV 1189)

This notice was painted in red lettering on the exterior wall of the Building of Eumachia, at the west end of the Street of Abundance near the Forum. **D21** and **D22** both seem to advertise the same games, provided by Suettius Certus as aedile, who appears to have owned a troupe of gladiators.

D22 An aedile's games, AD 54–68

The gladiatorial troupe of Aulus Suettius Certus will fight at Pompeii on 31 May. There will be a hunt and awnings. Good fortune to all Neronian games.

(CIL IV 1190)

This notice was displayed in the ‘Street of the Brothel’.

D23 Games presented by an *Augustalis*

[...] pairs of gladiators of Lucius Valerius Primus, *Augustalis*, will fight at Pompeii on the [...] February: there will be a hunt in the morning [...].

(CIL IV 9962)

This notice was displayed to the right of the entrance to I.ix.13. On *Augustales*, see **F115–31**.

GAMES PRESENTED BY GNAEUS ALLEIUS NIGIDIUS MAIUS, LEADING GAMES-GIVER (D24–29)

During the Neronian period, Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius achieved unparalleled prominence in Pompeian society, being hailed as ‘leader of the colony’ and ‘leading games-giver’. He attained the highest local political post, of quinquennial duumvir, in AD 55/56. Some at least of his games would have been given as a result of his holding this office, but he appears to have sponsored games on at least three different occasions. He also appears as a seller at auction in AD 55 on one of Caecilius Iucundus' wax tablets (**H102–15**), but the tablet (Tab. 16) is too damaged to reveal much more than this. A rental notice advertising some of his urban property, which probably dates from the last year or so before the town's destruction, gives some idea of his sources of income (**H74**). It is also possible to deduce that at least some of his wealth may have been derived from the prominent public priestess Eumachia, since members of his family (including his mother, Pomponia Decharcis and one of his freedmen) were buried in her tomb enclosure (**E63–65**). This implies that this branch of the Alleii (into which Nigidius Maius was adopted)

may have become a beneficiary of the Eumachii, once Eumachia's direct descendants had died out. Alleius Nigidius Maius was also priest of 'Caesar Augustus' (possibly Claudius, but more probably Vespasian). His daughter Alleia was a public priestess (**E68**), and one of his freedmen received honours from his peers (**E65**).

D24 Thirty pairs of gladiators

30 pairs of Gnaeus Aiieius Nigidius Maius, quinquennial, and their substitutes will fight at Pompeii on 24,25 and 26 November. There will be a hunt... Ellius. Good fortune to Maius, quinquennial, (from) Paris. Marti[alis wishes good fortune to M]aius.

(CIL IV 1179 = ILS 5143)

Maius was quinquennial during the year AD 55/56. This notice is painted in black lettering on the Nolan Street. The word 'Ellius' is damaged, but may be the name of a popular performer. Reference to 'substitutes' relates to the additional gladiators who took the place of defeated fighters in subsequent bouts.

D25 Twenty pairs of gladiators

20 pairs of gladiators of Gnaeus Aiieius Nigidius Maius, quinquennial, and their substitutes will fight without any public expense at Pompeii.

(CIL IV 7991)

This notice, in black and red, was painted on the House of Trebius Valens (III.ii.1). It is one of several electoral notices and advertisements for games (which had been painted over) on its wide facade, on the north side of the Street of Abundance, not far from the Amphitheatre (**D18**, **D26**).

D26 Commemorative games, AD 59–69?

At the dedication <Ocella> of the *opus tabularum* of Gnaeus Aiieius Nigidius Maius, at Pompeii on 13 June, there will be a procession, hunt, athletics and awnings. Greetings to Nigra {picture of a head}.

(CIL IV 7993)

This notice is painted in red and black on the House of Trebius Valens (III.ii.1), announcing games to commemorate a specific occasion. There is no agreement about what the *opus tabularum* might be; some have suggested an archive office (*tabularium*) in the Forum, others a painting, or a decorative stage-building for the Theatre. One attractive suggestion is that Aiieius Nigidius Maius paid for the paintings of gladiators and hunting around the arena's parapet wall in the amphitheatre (**D10**). The awnings were large

canvasses drawn across the spectators' seating-area in order to shield them from the sun. They can be seen on the painting of the riot in the amphitheatre (**D41a**). The name of the signwriter, Ocella, appears inside the O of the word *dedkatione*.

D27 Notice in the courtyard of Forum Baths, AD 59–69?

At the dedication <Poly(blus?)> of the games of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Malus... There will be a hunt, athletes, sprinklings, awnings. Good fortune to Malus, leader of the colony.

(*CIL* IV 1177 = *ILS* 5144)

This notice in red lettering, displayed in the courtyard of the men's Forum baths, may also publicize the same event as **D26**. The name of the signwriter, Poly(bius?), appears inside the O of the word *dedkatione*. The absence of gladiators may point to a date after the riot in AD 59 (**D39**). For the signwriter Poly(bius?), see also **D18**.

D28 Gains for the well-being of the imperial family, AD 70–79

For the well-being of the [emperor Vespasian] Caesar Augustus and of his children, [and on account of the] dedication of the altar, [the gladiatorial troupe] of Gnaeus [All]eius Nigidius Maius, priest of Caesar Augustus, will fight at Pompeii, without delay, on 4 July. There will be a hunt and awnings.

(*CIL* IV 1180)

This notice, painted in red lettering, outside the main entrance of the Gladiatorial Barracks, on the external wall of the Large Theatre, AD 70–79, announces games to be held for the welfare of the imperial family. Although it is just possible that Nigidius Maius was priest of Claudius, it seems more likely that the emperor and his children referred to here are Vespasian, Titus and Domitian. The altar in question here has been identified by some with the finely carved altar in the so-called ‘Temple of Vespasian’ in the Forum (**E52**), whose iconography links it with the imperial cult, making it a suitable donation to the town by a priest of Vespasian. Dobbins (1992), however, dates that altar to the Augustan period.

D29 Acclamation of Alleius Nigidius Maius

Good fortune to Gnaeus Alleius Maius, the leading games-giver.

(*CIL* IV 7990)

This notice, in black lettering, is painted on II.vii.7.

SHOWS BEYOND POMPEII (D30–35)

The following is a selection of advertisements for spectacles in other towns. Most of these were displayed outside the town, on tombs lining the roads leading away from Pompeii. In addition to the following, other places mentioned include Capua (*AE* 1990,177b), Cumae (*CIL* IV 9976, 9983), and Forum Popilii (*AE* 1990, 177c).

D30 Gaines at Nola

20 pairs of gladiators of Quintus Monnius Rufus will fight at Nola: 1, 2, 3 May. And there will be a hunt.

(*CIL* IV 3881)

This notice is painted in red on tomb 3 in the Fondo Pacifico, near Pompeii's Amphitheatre.

FOUR DAYS' GAMES AT NOLA GIVEN BY MARCUS COMINIUS HERES (D31–35)

Much of the podium of tomb 14 EN (= 19 Maiuri, 37 Delia Corte) in the necropolis outside the Nucerian Gate was originally covered with graffiti pictures of gladiatorial combat. These all seem to have been created by a single hand and probably record a particular set of games at Nola. At least four pairs of gladiators are depicted, and a more complex scene depicts a central pair of gladiators framed by trumpeters and by horn-players. 'Neronian' gladiators were those from the imperial gladiatorial training school at Capua. The names of the gladiators are revealing: *Princeps* 'The Leading-man' is obviously a 'stage-name'. He and Hilarus (possibly a 'stage-name': *hilarus* means 'merry') were slaves, having only one name. Marcus Attilius' name shows that he was a freeborn citizen. Lucius Raecius Felix may have been a freedman; Felix was a common slave name and a slave on being set free would adopt his former master's first two names, while keeping his own name as a third. Other games at Nola: *CIL* IV 9978.

D31 Victory of 'The Leading-Man' (*CIL* IV 10237)

See [Figure 4.2](#).

D32 Debut of Marcus Attilius (*CIL* IV 10238a)

See [Figure 4.3](#).



Figure 4.2 Victory of 'The Leading-Man' (CIL IV 10237)

*Munus Nolae de
quadridu(o)*

*M. Comini
Heredi(s)*

Pri(n)ceps

*Ner(onianus), (pugnarum) XIII,
(coronarum) X,*

v(icit)

*Hilarus Ner(onianus), (pugnarum) XIV,
(coronarum)*

XII, v(icit)

*Creunus, (pugnarum) VII, (coronarum)
V, m(issus)*

Games at Nola
over 4 days

of Marcus Cominius

Heres

'The Leading-Man'

Neronian, fought 13,

10 victories

victor

Hilarus, Neronian, fought 14,

12 victories, victor

Creunus, fought 7,

5 victories, relieved



Figure 4.3 Debut of Marcus Atilius (CIL TV 10238a)

M. Attilius, t(iro), v(icit)
Hilarus Ner(onianus), (pugnarum) XIV,
(victoriarum) XII
m(issus)

Marcus Attilius, novice, victor
Hilarus, Neronian, fought 14,
12 victories
reprieved

D33 Further success of Marcus Attilius (CIL IV 10236a)

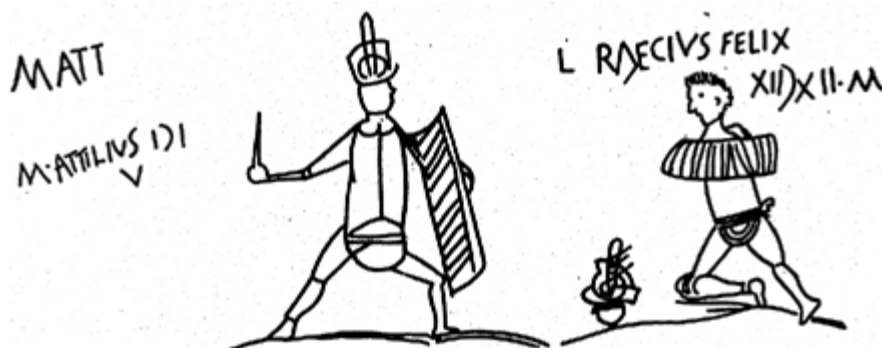


Figure 4.4 Further success of Marcus Attilius (CIL TV 10236a)

M. Att(ilius)
M. Attilius, (pugnarum) I, (coronarum) I
v(kit)
L. Raecius Felix
(pugnarum) XII, (coronarum) XII, m(issus)

Marcus Att(ilius)
Marcus Attilius, fought 1,
1 victory
victor
Lucius Raecius Felix
fought 12, won 12, reprieved

D34 Gaines at Nuceria

20 pairs of gladiators of Lucius T[...]mius Felix and of [Gro]sphus, will fight on 29 and 30 October [...] at [Nuceria Con]stantia.

(CIL IV 9973)

This notice appears on tomb 10EN (= 12 Maiuri, 13 Delia Corte), in the necropolis outside the Nucerian Gate. For other adverts for games at Nuceria, see CIL IV 3882, 9972.

D35 Gaines at Puteoli

49 pairs. The Capinian troupe will fight at the games of the Augusti at Puteoli on [12], 14, 16 and 18 May. There will be awnings. Magus (wrote this).

(CIL IV 7994)

This notice appears in red letters on the facade of III.iv.1–2, along the lower part of the Street of Abundance. For other games at Puteoli, see *CIL* IV 9970, 9969, 9984.

COMMEMORATION OF GAMES (D36–38)

D36a Stucco relief on ‘tomb of Umbricius Scaurus/Festius Ampliatus’

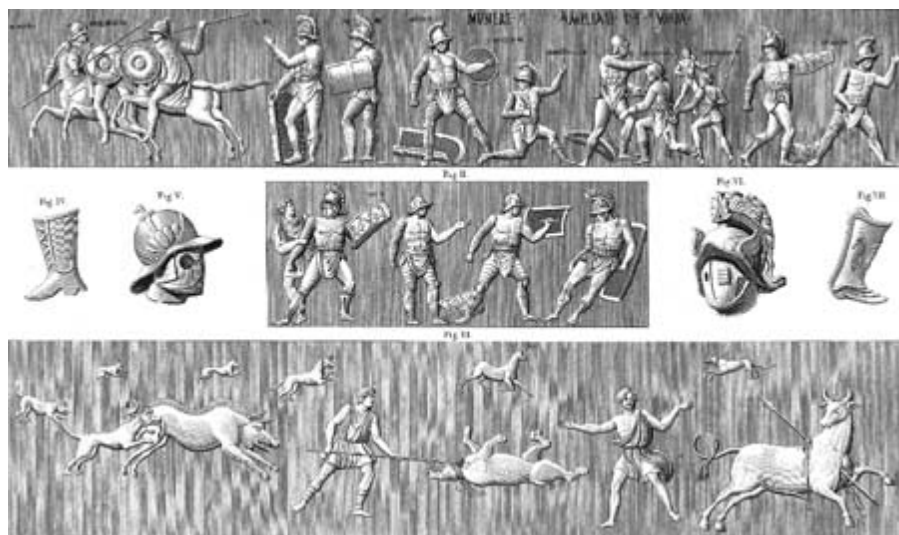


Plate 4.3 Stucco relief on ‘tomb of Umbricius Scaurus/Festius Ampliatus’

D36b

At the games of [Numerius Fesjtius Ampliatus on the last day.

(*CIL* IV 1182 (extract))

This relief in stucco from the AD 70s, belonging to a tomb outside the Herculaneum Gate (erroneously known as the ‘Tomb of Scaurus’), depicts gladiatorial combat and hunting. The stucco was badly damaged by frost in 1815 and has more or less completely disappeared, apart from faint traces above the doorway to the tomb. At the top is an inscription in larger letters, which acts as a heading for the scenes (**D36b**). The scenes represent the final day in games given by Ampliatus, whose troupe of gladiators is advertised elsewhere in Pompeii too (*CIL* IV 1183–84). The fighters are labelled with painted inscriptions, which give their names and training-school affiliations, the numbers of their fights and victories, and whether they won, were reprieved, or died in combat. The frieze provides a narrative of the day's games, from left to right, starting with a combat between two equestrian fighters, in which Bebryx (on the left) defeated Nobilior [*Bebryx Iul(ianus)*]

XV (pugnarum) v(icit) – Nobilior(Ianus) XTV(pugnarum)]. ‘Julian’ gladiators were trained in the imperial school at Capua. Then follow seven pairs of gladiators in various combinations, including Thracians, *murmillones*, heavily armed fighters, and net-fighters (*retiarii*). See notes on **D49–53** below for types of gladiators.

D37 Review of gladiatorial games

Games [...] on 12, 13, 14, 15 May.

Reprieved.	Double swordsman (?) versus heavily armed fighter: [...]ciens Neronian, fought 20 [... traces of another name ...] 11
Won.	Nobilior, Julian, fought 2 [... traces of another name ...] 14
Reprieved.	Thracian versus <i>murmillo</i> : Lucius Sempronius [...]
Won.	Platanus, Julian [...]
Won.	Thracian versus <i>murmillo</i> : Pugnax, Neronian, fought 3.
Killed.	Murranus, Neronian, fought 3.
Won.	Heavily armed fighter versus Thracian: Cycnus, Julian, fought 9.
Reprieved.	Atticus, Julian, fought 14.
Won.	Thracian versus <i>murmillo</i> : Herma, Julian, fought 4.
Reprieved.	Quintus Petillius [...]
Reprieved.	Chariot-fighters: Publius Ostorius, fought 51.
Won.	Scylax, Julian, fought 26.
Won.	Thracian versus <i>murmillo</i> : Nodu[...], Julian, fought 7.
Killed.	Lucius Petronius, fought 14.
Killed.	Thracian versus <i>murmillo</i> : Lucius Fabius, fought 9.
Won.	Astus, Julian, fought 14.

An inscription on plaster in Naples Museum, which is thought to have come from Pompeii, records two periods of games on several consecutive days in May. It lists the types of gladiator, names of the fighters, their affiliation, number of fights to date and the outcome of their fights. Neronian gladiators, like Julian gladiators, were trained in the imperial gladiatorial barracks at Capua. The letters indicating the outcome of the fights (*v* – *vicit* (won), *m* – *missus* (reprieved), *p* – *perit* (killed)) were added to the list of combatants by a different hand. It is worth noting how few gladiators were actually killed. See notes on [D49–53](#) below for types of gladiators. Only the second set of games (with nine pairs of gladiators) is translated here. The text relating to the first set, with six pairs, is less well preserved.

D38 Graffiti drawings of gladiators



Figure 4.5 A complex scene at the games (CIL IV 1421)

Faustus, slave of Ithacus, Neronian, at the amphitheatre; Priscus, Neronian, fought 6, victor; Herennius, fought 18, killed.

(CIL IV 1421)

Graffiti drawings of gladiators are found in many areas of the town, and not just in areas where gladiators may have drawn them themselves. Sometimes, fighters are labelled with their names, but elsewhere there is no text alongside the drawing. The drawings demonstrate a huge diversity in artistic ability. Most common are single fighters or pairs, but occasionally quite complex scenes have been created. The overall frequency of gladiatorial themes is an index of the popularity of gladiatorial combat among spectators. In this graffiti drawing, from the peristyle in the House of the Labyrinth, VI.xi.10, depicted to the left is the person presiding over the games, seated on an honorific seat upon a platform; a fighter holding a trident is descending the stairs from the platform to the right; a man in a tunic is holding out a staff (an adjudicator?); two gladiators engaged in combat; another man in a tunic

holding a staff.

RIOT IN THE AMPHITHEATRE, AD 59 (D39–46)

In AD 59, a notorious riot occurred in the Amphitheatre between Pompeians and Nucerians (D39). Nuceria was a nearby colony, where extra veteran soldiers had been settled by Nero as recently as AD 57. It is possible that the land allotments accompanying this move exacerbated feelings of local rivalry that may already have existed. As a result of the bloodshed, the Roman Senate banned gladiatorial shows for ten years from Pompeii (D39), and probably removed the duumvirs of the time from office (D40a/b). Even so, some Pompeians clearly basked in the glory of their victory over their neighbours, and commemorated it in a painting and in graffiti (D41–42) and the Amphitheatre remained the venue for other types of spectacle (D44). Some scholars have argued that Emperor Nero may have lifted this ban before the end of that period (D45).

D39 A narrative of the riot

At around the same time, there arose from a trifling beginning a terrible bloodbath among the inhabitants of the colonies of Nuceria and Pompeii at a gladiatorial show given by Livineius Regulus, whose expulsion from the Senate I have recorded previously. Inter-town rivalry led to abuse, then stone-throwing, then the drawing of weapons. The Pompeians in whose town the show was being given came off the better. Therefore, many of the Nucerians were carried to Rome having lost limbs, and many were bereaved of parents and children. The emperor instructed the Senate to investigate; they passed it to the consuls. When their findings returned to the senators, the Pompeians were barred from holding any such gathering for ten years. Illegal associations in the town were dissolved; Livineius and the others who had instigated the trouble were exiled.

(Tacitus, *Annals* 14.17)

D40a/b Penalties for the local magistrates?

The wax tablets of Lucius Caecilius Iucundus recording business deals (H102–15) incidentally show extraordinary repercussions of the riot and senatorial inquiry on local politics. These tablets, as usual, record the date in the standard way, giving the names of the consuls at Rome and those of the duumvirs at Pompeii. This system of dating allows us to work out that the duumvirs served their year from 1 July to 30 June (consuls at Rome served from 1 January to 31 December). D40a/b show an extraordinary situation in two respects. First, if the two Grosphi were duumvirs on 10 July AD 59

(**D40a**), their term of office should not have ended until the end of June AD 60; but **D40b** shows a different pair of duumvirs in place by early May AD 60. Second, by this time there is also a prefect as well as the duumvirs, an office only used in exceptional circumstances (compare **F138**). Thus, the riot seems to have led to the duumvirs being replaced before the end of their year, and an extra magistrate with legal powers being chosen.

D40a Duumvirs of July AD 59

On 10 July when Gnaeus Pompeius Grosphus and Grosphus Pompeius Gavianus were duumvirs with judicial power.

[... details of the business follow ...]

Transacted at Pompeii when Marcus Ostorius Scapula and Titus Sextius Africanus were consuls {i.e. AD 59}.

(CIL IV 3340.143)

D40b Duumvirs of May AD 60

On 8 May when Numidius Sandelius Messius Balbus and Publius Veditius Siricus were duumvirs with judicial power and Sextus Pompeius Proculus was prefect with judicial power.

[... details of the business follow ...]

Transacted at Pompeii when Nero Caesar Augustus for the fourth time and Cossus Lentulus were consuls {i.e. AD 60}.

(CIL IV 3340.144)

D41a Painting of the riot

See *Plates 4.4a and 4.4b*.

D41b

{Latin} Good fortune to Decimus Lucretius.

{Greek letters} Good fortune to Satrius Valens, Augustus Nero.

(CIL IV 2993x, y)

The painting, from the peristyle garden of the 'House of Actius Anicetus' (I.iii.23), gives an aerial view of the Amphitheatre and its surroundings. The viewer can see the open space around it, with trees and perhaps temporary stalls (see also **H99**), the Large Palaestra, and town walls. Painted inscriptions are even legible on the exterior walls of the Palaestra, acclaiming Lucretius

Satrius Valens and Nero ([D41b](#); compare [D20](#) and [D29](#)). Only part of the awning over the Amphitheatre is represented, to provide a view of the interior of the building. Fights have broken out not just in the arena, but in the seating and outside. We do not know who commissioned the painting, or why, but it may have been intended to celebrate the reopening of the Amphitheatre after the ban or simply the trouncing of the Nucerians.



Plate 4.4a Painting of the riot (MANN inv. 112222)



Plate 4.4b Painting of the riot, detail (*CIL IV 2993x, y*)

D42a Celebration of the Nucerians' defeat (*CIL IV 1293*)



Figure 4.6 Celebration of the Nucerians' defeat (*CIL IV 1293*)

D42b

Campanians, in our victory you perished with the Nucerians.

(*CIL IV 1293 = ILS 6443a*)

This graffito drawing itself (from the façade of the House of the Dioscuri,

VI.ix.6) – a triumphal gladiator brandishing a palm of victory – does not clearly relate to the riot, but the text beneath it may well be an allusion to the slaughter of Nucerians in the riot. It is unclear exactly who is referred to as Campanians (Campania was the name for the whole region).

D43 Local tensions

Good fortune to the Puteolans; good luck to all Nucerians; the executioner's hook to Pompeians, Pithecusans.

(*CIL* IV 2183)

Tensions between Pompeians and Nucerians also appear in this graffito found in a brothel (VII.xii.18), which wishes on the Pompeians the hook used for dragging away the bodies of executed criminals. The graffito is inscribed by at least three different people, suggesting that the original message read 'good fortune to the Puteolans'. This was then extended to include the words 'good luck to all Nucerians'. A third person later added 'the hook to Pompeians', and possibly a final hand completed the text with 'Pithecusans'. Compare also *CIL* IV 1329 for an expression of ill will towards Nucerians.

D44 Games during the ten-year ban

For the well-being of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, at Pompeii, there will be a hunt, athletics and sprinklings of Tiberius Claudius Verus on 25–26 February. 373. Good fortune to Claudius Verus.

(*CIL* IV 7989a, c)

This notice in red lettering, on the north external wall of the Large Palaestra, AD 62, advertises a show including a hunt and athletics. The games advertised in this notice are most unlikely to have been displayed, given that a massive earthquake struck the town on 5 February. What this notice does seem to indicate, therefore, is that games might be advertised three weeks or more in advance of their presentation. It is unclear why the number 373 appears at the end.

D45 Acclamation of Nero and Poppaea, IX.vi, AD 63–65

Good fortune to the judgements of Augustus, father of his country, and of Poppaea Augusta.

(*CIL* IV 3726 = *ILS* 234)

Eight graffiti from around the town hail 'judgements' of Nero and Poppaea. Poppaea was Nero's mistress and then wife from AD 62 until her death in 65, being granted the title 'Augusta' in 63, following the birth of a daughter

(compare *CIL* IV 1074). We do not know what these judgements were, but one hypothesis is that, as a result of Poppaea's intervention, Nero revoked the ban on gladiatorial games (but see **D46** for an alternative explanation). Wealthy Poppaei lived in Pompeii during the mid-first century AD and have been tentatively linked with the grand House of the Menander (I.x.4). It is often assumed that the empress Poppaea also originated from Pompeii, and that she owned the magnificent villa at Oplontis. Neither of these hypotheses can be proved, although we can be sure from a wax tablet at Herculaneum that she did own an estate in the area of Pompeii.

D46 Nero's colonies, VI.xv

Good fortune to the judgements of Augustus. Puteoli, Antium, Teganum, Pompeii: these are true colonies.

(*CIL* IV 3525 = *ILS* 6444)

This graffito suggests, however, that the 'judgements' of Nero had more to do with honorific grants of colonial status than with lifting a ban on gladiators. The emphasis on Pompeii being a 'true colony' may well be a response to Nero's settlement of veterans at Nuceria. Nero made grants of colonial status to the harbour-town of Puteoli on the Bay of Naples, his birthplace Antium in Latium, and Teganum in southern Italy. The writer of this text, therefore, is claiming that Pompeii too has been granted colonial status by Nero.

GLADIATORIAL BARRACKS AND TRAINING SCHOOL (D47–53)

D47 Plan of the Gladiatorial Barracks

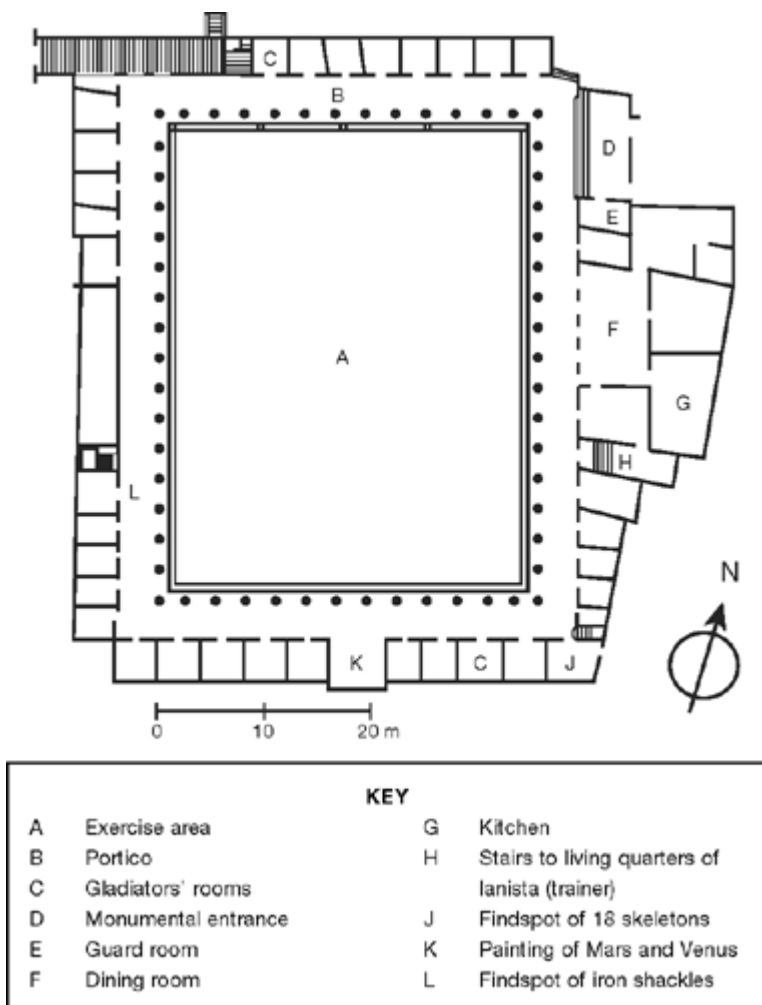
See *Figure 4.7*.

D48 The excavation of the Gladiatorial Barracks

6 December 1766: Continuing to clear the earth in the building which lies adjacent to the town walls, which reveals a large courtyard or piazza surrounded by a portico, with 'peperino' {tufa} columns painted red and rooms on two floors &

20 December 1766: Continuing to dig in the building adjacent to the town walls. From the finds which have been made, this is believed to be a Soldiers' Barracks. The following was found: a room & in which were found shackles for ten people, made up of a bar 7 feet 10 inches long and 21/2 inches wide, with three cross-bars for locking above a large plank opposite it, of which some remains were found. Above this bar there were 22 irons with eyelets

protruding vertically, each one 41/2 inches high, leaving spaces for ankles between them. From one of the ends of this bar there remained welded the socket of a lock 10 inches high, 13 inches wide and 31/2 inches thick, and this came encased in a wooden outer-casing. Near to this, partly rusted together, was found a rod of the same length as the shackles, with a ring on one end. This rod must have worked by being inserted from the lock's exterior hole through the eyelets, thus fastening the prisoners' legs securely. At the end of this rod, towards the ring, can be seen the hole through which the lock's bolt must have passed. The whole room is painted, though plainly, and 4 skeletons were found there, perhaps of prisoners. In another room of the same building & four helmets were found, believed to be of copper; judging from the place in which they were found, and from some nails which fitted them on the wall, these must have been attached to that wall. {Description of the 4 helmets follows.}



30 December 1766: Having cleared some of the earth, which remained beneath the helmets mentioned in the previous report, 4 copper greaves were found ... {description follows}.

14 February 1767: In the current week the room, whose initial discovery was described in the previous report, was entirely uncovered. This room, which is the centre of this side of the building {i.e. in the centre of the south-east portico}, is open towards the courtyard, and is painted as follows. All around, it has a black base with some minor decoration. In the middle of the main façade there is a picture 2 feet, 10 inches high and 2 feet, 6 inches wide with two figures, a man and a woman. But this section has deteriorated greatly and it is difficult to see anything else. Beside this picture are two architectural grotesques, and the rest of the façade has various sections. The façade to the left of the bit described has in its centre a trophy, which rises up from the paving to a height of 10 feet. It is made up of helmets, cuirasses, greaves, shields, belts, and a trident, a cloak, and spear. As background to this trophy, which is all painted in naturalistic colours, is a section of architecture. On the left is a picture 2 feet, 6 inches high and 2 feet, 3 inches wide, in which appears a man who is clothed and holding a spear in his left hand, and a woman who is entirely draped.

7 March 1767: Once the draughtsman Morghen had finished copying the whole of the room painted as described above, Canart, as advised, immediately gave instructions for the cutting out of the 4 pieces which were worth it:

Picture with two figures: 2 feet, 10 inches high and 2 feet, 6 inches wide.

Picture with a trophy: 9 feet, 9 inches high and 4 feet, 3 inches wide.

Picture with two figures – a man with a spear in his left hand and a woman: 2 feet, 7 inches high and 2 feet, 4 inches wide.

Picture with part of a trophy: 3 feet, 6 inches high and 5 feet wide.

{Further discoveries of helmets, armour ...}

29 August 1767: Continuing to dig in the usual place, some skeletons were found, one of which had two gold rings on its fingers. One of these is a small circle weighing two ‘trappesi’ {i.e. 1.78 grammes}, the other is a small bar, which ends in two snakes' heads, which, drawing together, make a

discontinuous circle, weighing 16½ ‘trappesi’ {i.e. 14.685 grammes}.

5 December 1767: In digging in the Barracks in a space under the stairs, a human skeleton was found ... In the same room was also found a skeleton, which appears to be of a horse, and nearby the following pieces, which are believed to be its tack ... {describes bits of buckles, bell, part of a saddle}.

(Extracts from *PAHI*, Part 1 pp.196–212)

The building was identified as a Soldiers' Barracks on the basis of finds. In time, these amounted to 15 helmets, 14 greaves (i.e. shin guards), 4 belts, a sword-hilt, and a shield, all in bronze and decorated with mythological scenes. The discovery of the shackles inspired one of G.B. Piranesi's imaginative sketches of Pompeii. The excavators' general rules in documenting their finds can be seen here. Objects found were listed in categories according to the material out of which they were made (such as metal or bone). It also demonstrates the attitude to paintings found at Pompeii: if regarded as of any merit, they were copied and then cut out of the wall and transferred to the royal collection. The main painting described here depicts Mars and Venus with trophies made out of gladiatorial weapons. The excavation of a particular building could take many years of fitful activity, depending on the amount of excitement generated by its discovery. In the case of the Barracks, its fourth side was still being uncovered on 16 February 1792, even though the building had first been located on 21 January 1769.

GRAFFITI BY GLADIATORS IN THE ‘HOUSE OF THE GLADIATORS’ (V.V.3) (D49–53)

This building – a converted house, with a central peristyle courtyard surrounded by rooms – appears to have served as a training-centre for gladiators, possibly until the much larger Barracks behind the Theatre were established in the mid-first century AD ([D47–48](#)). A considerable quantity of graffiti scratched upon the columns of the peristyle provides a vivid picture of the variety of gladiators who performed in Pompeii. Many types of gladiator are mentioned, including the chariot fighter (*essedarius*), Thracian sabre fighter (*traex*), heavily armed fighter, gladiator with fish emblem on helmet (*murmillio*), lightly armed net and trident fighter (*retiarius*), and cavalryman (*eques*). Some graffiti record an individual gladiator's number of fights and victories, and some create the impression that some gladiators were mobbed by their female fans, but these were probably written by the gladiators themselves, so may not be entirely objective records of popularity.

D49 Celadus the gladiator

Thracian gladiator Celadus.

(*CIL* IV 4341)

D50 Celadus' victories

Celadus, belonging to Octavus(?), fought 3, won 3.

(*CIL* IV 4297)

D51 Celadus' fans

Girls' heart-throb, Thracian gladiator Celadus, belonging to Octavus(?), fought 3, won 3.

(*CIL* IV 4342 = *ILS* 5142a)

D52 Celadus' success beyond the arena

The girls' idol, Celadus the Thracian gladiator.

(*CIL* IV 4345 = *ILS* 5142b)

D53 Victories of Florus

28 July, Florus won at Nuceria; 15 August, won at Herculaneum.

(*CIL* IV 4299)

THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENT (D54–82)

THE LARGE THEATRE AT POMPEII (D54–60)

D54 Modifications to Pompeii's Large Theatre in the Augustan era by the Holconii

Marcus Holconius Rufus and Marcus Holconius Celer (built) at their own expense the crypt, boxes and theatre seating.

(*CIL* X 833 and 834 = *ILS* 5638)

Two notables, the Holconii (two brothers, or, perhaps less likely, father and son) (**F93**), greatly increased the seating capacity by adding a new upper section of seating supported by vaulted passageways, or a 'crypt'. They created two privileged areas of seating, or 'boxes', over the covered corridors leading into the *orchestra* from either side of the Theatre. These modifications may have been inspired by Augustus' legislation governing the segregation of audience members in theatres, since the new seating arrangements allowed for the spectators to be divided up into more groups than before. Their benefaction was recorded in multiple inscriptions set up in different parts of the Theatre, including two identical inscriptions, both well over 6 metres long,

found in the area of the stage.

D55 Commemoration of the Theatre's architect

Marcus Artorius Primus, freedman of Marcus, architect.

(*CIL* X 841 = *ILS* 5638a)

Celebration of an architect is not common, especially a freedman, although more architects are commemorated in Campania than elsewhere. The decision to honour the architect in this way implies that the task of designing and executing the modifications to the Theatre was an extensive one. The same architect's name also appears on another fragmentary building inscription, but its original location is unknown (*CIL* X 807).

D56 Holconius Rufus honoured in the Theatre,

2/1 BC

To Marcus Holconius Rufus, duumvir with judicial power four times, quinquennial, military tribune by popular demand, priest of Augustus, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 837 = *ILS* 6361)

This inscription honouring Holconius Rufus is one of very few inscriptions on coloured marble to have survived in Pompeii.

D57 Further honour for Holconius Rufus,

1 BC/AD 14

To Marcus Holconius Rufus, son of Marcus, duumvir with judicial power five times, twice quinquennial, military tribune by popular demand, priest of Augustus, patron of the colony, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 838 = *ILS* 6361a)

This inscription marks the culmination of Holconius Rufus' career, some years after his generosity in the Theatre. Its bronze letters are incorporated into the marble seating on the lowest level of the *cavea* (seating area) just above the broader steps for the double honorific chairs (or *bisellia*), in a central position. To judge from additional holes for metal still visible, something seems to have been fixed above the inscription. Although a small statue may have stood there, it is more likely that an honorific chair was set up here in Rufus' honour, in the place where the best possible view of the stage could be had. It would not necessarily have been a chair for him to sit on, but may have been an honour designed to perpetuate his name after death. He was also honoured with a statue outside the Stabian Baths ([F93](#)).

D58 Holconius Celer honoured in the Theatre, AD 13/14

To Marcus Holconius Celer, duumvir with judicial power, quinquennial designate, priest of Augustus.

(CIL X 840 = ILS 6362)

D59 Augustus honoured in the Theatre, 2/1 BC

[To Emperor Caesar] Augustus, father [of the fatherland, hailed as victorious general fourteen times], consul thirteen times, chief priest, holder of tribunician power twenty-two times.

(CIL X 842)

D60 Unusual finds in the Theatre: excavation reports, 1768

22 October 1768: Digging continued in the building next to the Theatre, and the following was found: a musical instrument consisting of a bronze trumpet without mouthpiece ... The trumpet is 20 inches long. Another instrument consisting of a bone pipe 19 inches long was found.

29 April 1769: A magistrate's {'curule'} or double honorific chair {'bisellium'}, or some other similar piece of furniture, of iron, decorated with ivory turned on the lathe, was found in the portico behind the stage building of the Large Theatre, through which one used to enter into the Odeion Theatre.

3 June 1769: Other pieces of similar furniture, of magistrate's or double honorific chairs. Cushion of aforementioned furniture.

(PAH I, Part 1 pp.223–24; PAH I, Addenda IV: Epitome diurnorum ex cod. mss. Aloys. Ribau (Summary of the Daybooks from the manuscript of A. Ribau) p.154)

For the double honorific chair, see [F115](#), [F117](#).

POMPEII'S COVERED THEATRE/ODEION (D61–62)

The building inscription of the Covered Theatre ([B11](#)) records that two prominent colonists approved its completion in the 70s BC, and some scholars believe that it was intended to act as a council chamber for the colonists. A large bronze inscription was found running across the *orchestra* of the Covered Theatre in 1793 (see [D61](#)). Its letters were individually set into the marble paving, and were particularly attractive and susceptible to marauding

visitors. It is clearly represented in an early watercolour (H. Wilkins, *Suite de vues pittoresques des ruines de Pompeii et un précis historique de la ville* (Rome 1819), plate xxvii), but hardly a trace of it now remains; it was gradually destroyed by visitors to the site.

D61 Marble paving for *orchestra*

Marcus O[culat]jius Verus, son of Marcus, duumvir, instead of games.

(CIL X 845)

This inscription originally consisted of bronze letters inlaid into the multicoloured marble paving of the *orchestra*. Found in 1793, its letters were gradually pilfered over the years, so that hardly a trace of it now remains to be seen. It commemorates the donation of the beautiful marble paving by a magistrate. On the expression ‘instead of games’, see **D1–5**.

D62 The discovery and destruction of the bronze inscription in the Covered Theatre

7–21 November 1793: Continuing to uncover the Covered Theatre, there was found in the *orchestra*, which is entirely decorated with slabs and strips of a variety of marble, above a strip of cipollino marble, which takes up the whole diameter of the *orchestra*, the following inscription in bronze letters: M. OCVLATIVS. M. F. VERVS. II. VIR. PRO LVDIS. This is being kept covered in the same place, until the Director La Vega issues instructions.

15 April 1809: Last week between 12 and 15 soldiers came to Pompeii, of those who are stationed at Torre Annunziata. They did not want to be escorted by anyone, and among their fooling about and drunkenness they knocked over some pilasters at the entrance to the Theatre, and they tore out and seized two bronze letters of the inscription, which remains on the paving of the Odeion, an R and an O. The veterans assigned to this part of the site did not believe in worrying themselves about them; the curators were afraid of their sabres.

25 May 1815: On the 24th, at 8 o'clock Italian time, some officers from the Austrian troops, who are passing, came to the excavations of Pompeii. Having gone to look at the Theatre, they removed from it some bronze letters, which had been fixed in the paving there; but when the sergeant of veterans informed their general, who joined them there a few moments later, he summoned them and forced them to return to the curators what they had removed.

(PAHI, Part 2, p.54; PAHI, Addenda from manuscript of Ribau, p.231, 277)

This was the first structure to be excavated at Herculaneum in modern times, first by Prince d'Elboeuf during 1710–11, and then by the Bourbon monarchs of Naples from 1738. It yielded impressive quantities of marble and bronze statues, poly chrome marble pieces and inscriptions. It was excavated via shafts and tunnels, which were sunk down from the modern ground-surface, and it still remains underground today. Herculaneum's Theatre was built by a local magistrate in the Augustan era (**D63**), while a leading member of Rome's elite, Appius Claudius Pulcher (consul 38 BC), appears to have contributed towards the costs of decorating the structure (**D64**). Both Claudius Pulcher and M. Nonius Balbus (compare **F94–105**) were honoured after their deaths, as recorded on inscriptions still in situ on the *tribunalia* of the Theatre, above the entrances to the *orchestra*, possibly marking where honorific chairs were placed during shows in memory of them (**D65–66**; compare **D57**, **F104**). Several bronze statues were found in the theatre, of locals Calatorius Quartio (**D67**) and Mammius Maximus (**D68**; compare **F123–131**), and of members of the imperial family – Livia (MANN inv. 5589), Antonia the Younger (MANN inv. 5599), Tiberius (MANN inv. 5615), and Agrippina the Younger (MANN inv. 5612).

D63 Construction of the Theatre at Herculaneum, c.20/10 BC

Lucius Annius Mammianus Rufus, son of Lucius, quinquennial duumvir, built the theatre and orchestra at his own expense. Publius Numisius, son of Publius, architect.

(*CIL* X 1443)

This large inscription (415 centimetres wide) is one of several inscriptions commemorating the funding for the theatre by the local magistrate and (in smaller lettering) the contribution of the architect to its design (compare *CIL* X 1442, 1444, 1445, 1446).

D64 Theatre decorated

Appius Pulcher, son of Gaius, consul, hailed victorious commander, one of the Board of Seven for feasting.

(*CIL* X 1423)

This large inscription on an architrave indicates some sort of contribution to the theatre's structure by Appius Claudius Pulcher, who was then honoured after his death (**D65**).

D65 Appius Claudius Pulcher commemorated

in the Theatre

To Appius Claudius Pulcher, son of Gaius, consul, hailed victorious commander. The people of Herculaneum after his death.

(*CIL* X 1424)

This inscription may mark the place where an honorific chair was set up in memory of Appius Claudius Pulcher. It forms a pair with **D66**.

D66 Nonius Balbus commemorated in the Theatre

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, the people of Herculaneum.

(*CIL* X 1427)

This inscription, opposite **D65**, may mark the place where an honorific chair was set up in memory of this outstanding benefactor of the town (compare **F104**).

D67a Bronze statue of Calatorius Quartio

See *Plate 4.5*.

D67b Inscription honouring Calatorius Quartio

To Marcus Calatorius Quartio, son of Marcus. The townsfolk and residents (set this up) by public subscription.

(*CIL* X 1447)

D68a Bronze statue of Mammius Maximus

See *Plate 4.6*.

D68b Inscription honouring Mammius Maximus

To Lucius Mammius Maximus, *Augustalis*. The townsfolk and residents (set this up) by public subscription.

(*CIL* X 1452)

Mammius Maximus paid for the refurbishment of Herculaneum's market building (*CIL* X 1450), and also set up a series of statues of members of the imperial family (**F123–31**).



Plate 4.5 Bronze statue of Calatorius Quartio (MANN inv. 5597)



Plate 4.6 Bronze statue of Mammius Maximus (MANN inv. 5591)

DRAMA, DRAMATISTS, AND ACTORS (D69–82)

Theatre tokens?

Over one hundred small counters in bone and ivory have been found at Pompeii. Most of them are round, but some are square. They contain images and abbreviated texts. Their function is unclear, but some may have been gaming counters and others theatre tickets. The latter perhaps served to identify a particular seat in the Theatre, by the name of the section of seating and by number. Aeschylus (**D70**) was a famous Athenian tragic playwright of the 5th century BC.

D69 A theatre token?

D69a See [Figure 4.8](#).

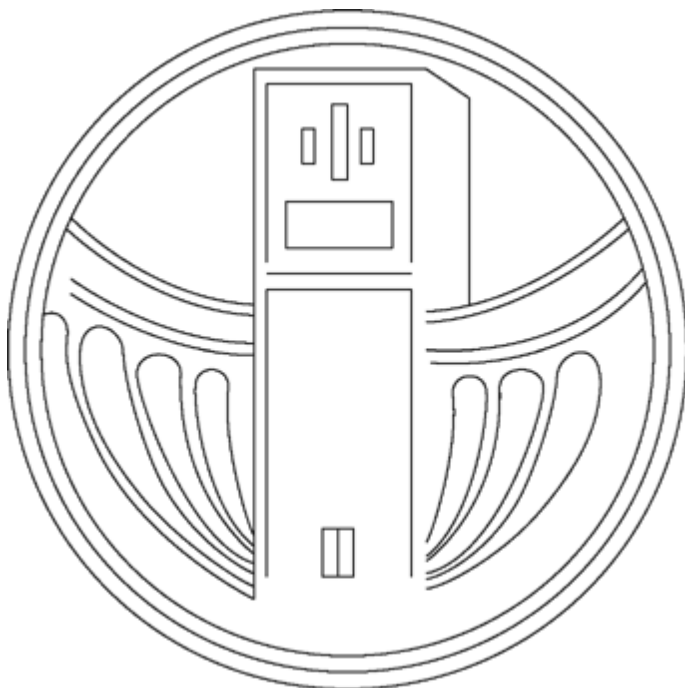


Figure 4.8 A curved structure (seating area?) with a tower

D69b

Text {Roman numeral, then in Greek}: XI / SEMICIRCLE / IA.

(*CIL* X 8069.14)

D70 Aeschylus at Pompeii

D70a

Picture: some sort of building.

D70b

Text {Roman numeral, then in Greek}: XII / OF AESCHYLUS / IB

(*CIL* X 8069.16)

D71 Athena

D71a

Picture: a helmeted figure.

D71b

Text {Roman numeral, then in Greek}: VIII / ATHENA / HZ {*Greek eta and*

zeta}.

(*CIL* X 8069.13)

D72 Seating ticket?

D72a

D72b

Picture of a half-opened door.

Text {Roman numeral, then in Greek}:

I / door /A.

(*CIL* X 8069.7)

D73 The dramatist Menander

Menander. He was the first to write comedy [...] four books.

(*CIL* IV 7350b)

The Greek poet of New Comedy, Menander (c.342–291 BC), was celebrated in the house that today bears his name (I.x.4). A large portrait of the seated poet, an ivy wreath upon his head, is painted in an exedra of the peristyle. At his feet is his name ‘Menander’ (*CIL* IV 7350a), and another text in tiny letters on his open book proclaims his achievement. His name also appears in a graffito on a column of the nearby peristyle (*CIL* IV 8338), and two mosaic pictures from the ‘villa of Cicero’ illustrate scenes from his plays ([A27](#)).

ACTORS (D74–82)

Troupes of performers went on tour to different towns in Campania: Actius Anicetus and his troupe of actors inspired a number of graffiti at Pompeii ([D74–75](#), [77–79](#)) and are also recorded at Herculaneum ([D76](#), [80](#)). A monumental inscription from Puteoli (*CIL* X 1946) records a Gaius Ummidius Actius Anicetus as pantomime actor (a single actor who mimed the whole scenario), and it seems likely that this is the same actor [see Franklin (1987)]. This is just a selection of the more interesting and identifiable graffiti mentioning an Actius: it is quite possible that some of the others do not refer to the same individual. The actor Paris is also acclaimed in several graffiti ([D77–80](#)), and it even seems that some supporters of a candidate for election to local political office identify themselves as fans of the actor Paris ([D81](#)). More striking yet is the fact that the actor Norbanus Sorex was publicly honoured with two portrait busts in the town ([D82](#)).

D74 Praise for Actius Anicetus

Actius, master of stage performers.

(*CIL* IV 5399)

This was found upon tomb 4 in Fondo Pacifico (near the Amphitheatre) at Pompeii.

D75 Greetings for Actius

Actius, greetings.

This was written on the west wall of the stage in Pompeii's Large Theatre.

D76 Acting troupe saluted at Herculaneum

Lucius Actius, farewell. Mysticus, musician, of the comedian Icuus ... we were for you.

(CIL IV 10643c)

Franklin (1987) considers the praenomen Lucius to be an error here.

D77 Praise for actor Paris

Paris, pearl of the stage.

(CIL IV 3867 = ILS 5181a)

This appears on the façade of tomb 4 in Fondo Pacifico (near the Amphitheatre) at Pompeii.

D78 Greetings for an actor

Master of the stage, farewell.

(CIL IV 3877)

This was written on the façade of tomb 6 in Fondo Pacifico (near the Amphitheatre) at Pompeii.

D79 Star-performer Paris

Unsurpassed Paris, triumph!

(AE (1985) 288)

This graffito combining both Latin and Greek was found in the House of Gaius Iulius Polybius at Pompeii.

D80 Two actors at Herculaneum

Anicetus, Paris, greetings.

(CIL IV 10643a)

D81 Political support by an actor's fans

I beg you to make Gaius Cuspius Pansa aedile. Purpurio with the fans of Paris.

(CIL IV 7919)

Unlike the previous examples, this is a painted notice, not a graffito. It was written in black lettering along the Street of Abundance, at IX.xii.7.

D82 Actor Norbanus Sorex honoured at Pompeii

{Portrait} Of Gaius Norbanus Sorex, actor of second parts; the presidents of the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District (set this up). Space given by decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 814 = ILS 5198)

The actor Norbanus Sorex was honoured with two portrait busts, one found complete with its support in the temple of Isis (MANN inv. 4991), the other represented only by the inscribed support, found in the Building of Eumachia (see [E55–60](#)). He was not necessarily himself an inhabitant of Pompeii; like other actors, he travelled around Italy. He also set up his own portrait bust as a dedicatory offering to the goddess Diana, at her sanctuary at Nemi, in the Alban Hills 25 kilometres to the south-east of Rome, where there was a theatre. He described himself there too as mime actor of second parts. His offering at Nemi is one of a group of herms set up by actors, which appear to date to the first half of the first century AD.

PLAYING WITH WORDS (D83–120)

LITERATURE IN GRAFFITI

Most quotations consist of just a few words, but whole verses or couplets of poetry are sometimes written up on walls. Sometimes the original text is modified for effect, and one particularly accomplished parody on the opening line of the *Aeneid* survives ([D83](#)). Virgil is by far the most popular source of quotations. A handful of quotations from Greek literature also survive. See [Appendix 2](#) for a table of data.

D83 Parody of *Aeneid* 1.1

Fullones ululamque cano, non arma virumque

I sing of fullers and an owl, not of arms and a man.

(CIL IV 9131)

This graffito appears on the façade of a house belonging to the fuller Marcus Fabius Ululitremulus (IX.xiii.5), near a picture of Aeneas leading Anchises and Ascanius into safety from Troy. The line is written in the same metre as the *Aeneid* and quotes the most famous opening words in Latin literature: *arma virumque cano* ... I sing of arms and a man ... The owl is a symbol of fullers, because of its link with their patroness, Minerva. The parody also puns

on his name (*ululam cano*).

D84 A literary papyrus in a painting at Herculaneum (Ins. IV.8)

Eutychos wrote verses with music.

(*CIL* IV 10481)

In a painting of a papyrus scroll, the title can be seen written upon it in black letters, in Greek.

LOCAL LITERARY TALENT (D85–95)

It is against this background of literary consciousness that the preservation of some original verses composed by a named poet, Tiburtinus, seems less surprising (**D85**). Many other apparently original verses can also be found scratched upon walls, but Tiburtinus is the only identifiable individual poet. His compositions are love elegy – actually some of the earliest Latin love elegy preserved – pre-dating well-known poets such as Catullus, Propertius, or Tibullus. Other anonymous poets have also left us some of their verses. The couplet **D87** inventively draws inspiration both from Propertius, *Elegies* 1.1.5 and Ovid, *Amores* 3.11.35. It appears a number of times in Pompeii, in different places. Variations on **D90** also recur elsewhere (e.g. *CIL* IV 9130, House of Marcus Fabius Ululitremulus).

D85 Love elegy by Tiburtinus

What is happening? Alas, eyes, first you led me into the fire,
Now of your own accord you give generously to your cheeks.
But tears cannot put out the flame;
They inflame the face and melt the spirit.

Composed by Tiburtinus.

(*CIL* IV 4966, with Solin (1968), 118–20)

A whole series of verses apparently written in the same hand appear on an external wall of the Covered Theatre. They are believed to date from a period shortly after the Covered Theatre was constructed, in the 70s BC. This is the best preserved sequence of verses.

D86 Pompeian love poetry (IX.xiii.4)

Nothing can last for all time:
When the Sun has shone brightly it returns to Ocean;

The Moon wanes, which recently was full.
Even so the fierceness of Venus often becomes a puff of wind.
(CIL IV 9123)

D87 Fickleness in love (atrium of VI.xiv.43)

Blondie has taught me to hate dark girls.
I shall hate them, if I can, but I wouldn't mind loving them.
Pompeian Venus Fisica wrote this.
(CIL IV 1520)

D88 Sending kisses to a mistress

Greetings to Primigenia of Nuceria.
I would wish to become a signet ring for no more than an hour
That I might give you kisses despatched with your signature.
(CIL IV 10241)

Appropriately enough, this graffito was found outside the Nucertian Gate upon tomb 21OS (=20 Maiuri/ 23 Delia Corte).

**D89 Fleeting pleasures
(IX.viii, in a doorway)**

Oh, if only I could hold your sweet arms around my neck
In an embrace and place kisses on your tender lips.
Go now, entrust your joys to the winds, my darling,
Believe me, fickle is the nature of men.
Often I have been wakeful in the middle of a wasted night
Thinking these things to myself: many men whom Fortune has raised
up on high, Now suddenly rush headlong, and fall, overwhelmed by her.
In this way when Venus has suddenly joined together lovers' bodies,
Light parts them and [-]
(CIL IV 5296)

**D90 A curse on anyone who knows not how to love
(House of Caecilius Iucundus, V.i.26)**

Whoever loves, let him flourish.
Let him perish who knows not love.
Let him perish twice over whoever forbids love.
(CIL IV 4091)

D91 A lover's haste (IX.v. 11, peristyle)

If you felt the fires of love, mule-driver,
You would make more haste to see Venus.
I love a charming boy; I ask you, goad the mules, let's go.
You've had a drink, let's go, take the reins and shake them,
Take me to Pompeii, where love is sweet.
You are mine...

(CIL IV 5092)

D92 A lover's declaration (Basilica)

Love dictates and Cupid points the way as I write.
I'd rather die than be a god without you.

(CIL IV 1928)

D93 Improving advice in the House of the Moralist (III.iv.2–3)

See to it, slave-boy, that water washes feet and a serviette
Wipes away the drops; and that our linen covers the couch.
Remove lustful expressions and flirtatious tender eyes
From another man's wife; may there be modesty in your expression.
[...] postpone your tiresome quarrels
If you can, or leave and take them home with you.

(CIL IV 7698a-c + AE (2001) 799)

These three couplets are painted upon the walls of the summer dining-room.

D94 Disappointments at Herculaneum and Pompeii

We came here eagerly; much more eager are we to go away.

(Pompeii: CIL IV 2995, 6697, 9849, 10065a; Solin (1975) nos
17, 57; Herculaneum: CIL IV 10640)

This scrap of verse, which appears several times in graffiti at both Herculaneum and Pompeii, illustrates how the inhabitants of both towns shared a literary culture (which also spread elsewhere – the same text is also found at Narbo in the south of France: AE (1997) 1068). In one example at Pompeii, there is a more soothing ending to the declaration, 'but that girl holds back my feet'.

D95 A philosophical thought at Herculaneum (Ins. IV. 15–16)

Diogenes, the cynic philosopher, seeing a woman being carried along by a river, said, 'Let one bad thing be carried off by another'.

This graffito was written in Greek.

PLAYING WITH WORDS AND IMAGES (D96–100)

D96 An architect's signature

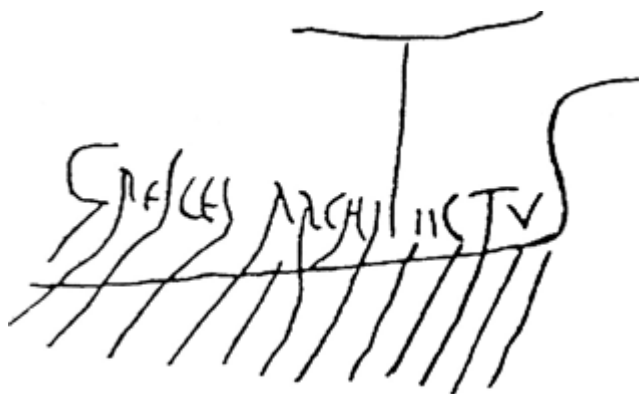
D96a

See [Figure 4.9](#).

D96b

Text: Crescens, architect.

(CIL IV 4755)



[Figure 4.9](#) An architect's signature

The architect Crescens incorporated his signature into the picture of a ship in a graffito found in the peristyle of the House of Triptolemus (VII.7.5).

D97a The snake-game

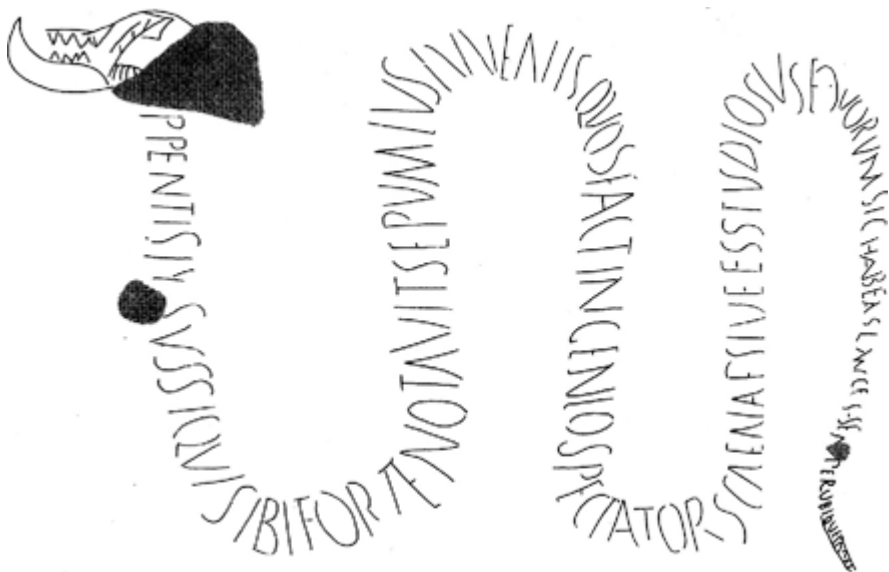


Figure 4.10 The snake-game

D97b Text

If anyone has chanced to observe the snake-game,
 In which young Sepumulus has shown his skill,
 Whether you are a spectator of the theatrical stage or a devotee of horses,
 May you always have balance equal to his everywhere.

(CIL IV 1595)

In this graffito near a house entrance in IV.v, the letters curve around, forming a snake's body, with its head drawn at the start of the text. All four lines of the Latin poem begin with the letter S. It perhaps alludes to some sort of physical exercise requiring great skill at balancing during weaving in and out along a snakelike course.

D98a The minotaur at Pompeii



Figure 4.11 The minotaur at Pompeii

D98b Text

Labyrinth. Here lives the minotaur.

(CIL IV 2331)

This graffito was found in the peristyle of the House of the Lucretii (IX.3.5,24).

TWO WORD SQUARES (D99–100)

Within these word squares any row or column makes a Latin word or name.

D99 A word square on Roma

R	O	M	A
O	L	I	M
M	I	L	O
A	M	O	R

(CIL IV 8297)

Roma = Rome; *olim* = once; *amor* = love; *Milo* is a man's name.

D100 A word square, later Christianized

R	O	T	A	S
O	P	E	R	A
T	E	N	E	T
A	R	E	P	O
S	A	T	O	R

Rotas = wheels; *opera* = tasks; *tenet* = holds; *Arepo* is possibly a proper name; *sator* = sower. It has been noticed that the letters of this square (with N being counted twice) can be rearranged to make two times, Pater Noster AO, i.e. ‘Our Father, Alpha and Omega’. A Christian presence in Pompeii is possible by AD 79, but this square is more likely to be simple word play, later adopted elsewhere as a Christian symbol. See also [E97–99](#) for Jews.

SCRIBBLES, MESSAGES, INSULTS, AND JOKES (D101–111)

Many other pieces of writing have been found all over Pompeii and Herculaneum, both scratched on walls and written with a type of charcoal pen. Volume IV of *CIL*, which collects writings on walls at Pompeii and the surrounding area, has over 10,000 entries. Many of these are what we might nowadays regard as casual scribbling or graffiti: single words, names, messages, sayings, insults or obscenities, some accompanied by drawings. Most of these, not surprisingly, occur in ‘public’ areas, but such areas might include, for example, the *atria* of private houses, where clients would pay their respects to their patrons. Recent analysis of sets of graffiti in their spatial context has suggested that clusters of texts might attract further texts, in a kind of ‘dialogue’ between different writers.

D101 ‘I was here’ (inside the Basilica)

Gaius Pumidius Dipilus was here, five days before the *nonas* of October when Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus were consuls.

(CIL IV 1842)

In common with writers of graffiti through the ages, many inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum felt the urge to mark their presence by writing or scratching their names. This example is noteworthy for obligingly giving the exact date and year (2 October 78 BC), by the usual Roman method of referring to the chief magistrates for the year. 78 BC was soon after the colony was founded.

D102 Greetings to a mistress

Secundus greets his own Prima everywhere. Mistress, I ask you to love me.

(CIL IV 8364)

D103 Greetings to a dead friend (Basilica)

Pyrrhus to his colleague Chlus: I grieve because I hear you have died; and so

farewell.

(CIL IV 1852)

D104 A reproach (Basilica)

Lucius Istacidius, I regard as a stranger anyone who doesn't invite me to dinner.

(CIL IV 1880)

D105 Rivalry of Severus and Successus

- Successus the weaver loves the barmaid of the inn, called Iris, who doesn't care for him, but he asks and she feels sorry for him. A rival wrote this. Farewell.
- You're jealous, bursting out with that. Don't try to muscle in on someone who's better-looking and is a wicked and charming man.
- I have written and spoken. You love Iris, who doesn't care for you. Severus to Successus.

(CIL IV 8259, 8258)

This exchange was found in a bar (I.x.2–3). There are three messages, the first and third by Severus, the second the reply of Successus, which is clearly written but contains difficult grammar and spelling. (*Pravessimus*, which he applies to himself, ought to mean something like 'utterly evil' but presumably had a colloquial, positive meaning, like 'wicked'.)

D106 Ill wishes (Basilica)

Chios, I hope your piles again become sore,
So that they smart more than they smarted before.

(CIL IV 1820)

D107 Criticism of a false lover (IX.viii.11, triclinium)

Restitutus has often deceived many girls.

(CIL IV 5251)

D108 Toilet humour

This is Martha's dining room, as she shits in this dining room.

(CIL IV 5244)

This graffito was found in the latrine in what ay have been the slave quarters of the huge and beautifully decorated House of the Centenary (IX.viii.6).

Martha uses the word for a dining-room, *triclinium*, mis-spelt as *trichilinium*.

D109 An imperial doctor visits the latrine

Apollinaris, doctor of emperor Titus, has had a good shit here.

(CIL IV 10619)

This graffito appears on the wall of a latrine in the ‘House of the Gem’, *Ins. Or. I.1*, Herculaneum.

D110 A joke about graffiti

I admire you, wall, for not having collapsed at having to carry the tedious scribbles of so many writers.

(CIL IV 1904)

Given the sheer quantity of graffiti in Pompeii, it is hardly surprising to find this particular message repeated several times around the town (also as CIL IV 1904, 2461 in the Large Theatre, and IV 2487 in the Amphitheatre), as well as various despairing requests to people to refrain from leaving their remarks (D111).

D111 An appeal to graffiti-writers

Whoever writes anything here, let him rot and be nameless.

(CIL IV 7521)

‘WIT AND WISDOM’ (D112–15)

Latin literature often shows a great liking for *sententiae* – pithy but contentious or thought-provoking sayings. Several such have been found at Pompeii, all of these examples in the form of a line of metrical verse (*senarius*).

D112 Face up to problems (Basilica)

A small evil becomes very great through being ignored.

(CIL IV 1870 and 1811)

D113 How to waste time (House of Holconius, VIII.iv.4)

If you want to waste time, scatter millet and gather it up.

(CIL IV 2069)

**D114 Death comes to us all
(beside door of IX.v.18)**

Learn: while I am alive, you, hateful death, are coming.

(*CIL* IV 5112)

D115 Charmed life of lovers

Lovers, like bees, lead a honeyed life.

I wish.

(*CIL* IV 8408)

The comment ‘I wish’ appears in different handwriting.

SEXUAL GRAFFITI (D116–120)

D116 Directions on finding a prostitute

If anyone sits here, let him read this first of all: if anyone wants a fuck, he should look for Attice – costs 4 sesterces.

(*CIL* IV 1751)

This is written above a seat just outside the Marine Gate.

D117 A Nucerian prostitute

At Nuceria, look for Novellia Primigenia near the Roman gate in the prostitutes' district.

(*CIL* IV 8356)

This is written in the rear entrance vestibule of the House of Menander (I.x.4).

D118 A satisfied customer

Here I fucked lots of girls.

(*CIL* IV 2175)

Over 100 comments (*CIL* IV 2173–296) appear in graffiti in the brothel at Pompeii (VIII.xii.18–20). About a third of them are of an explicit sexual nature, like this one, and appear to have been created by a variety of writers, including prostitutes themselves and their customers. Ostensibly, they record sexual experiences of visitors to the brothel (**D118–20**). A handful are in Greek. Curiously, alongside them is a literary echo, in the form of the first word of *Aeneid* Book 2 (*CIL* IV 2213).

D119 Comment on sexual performance

Sollemnes, you fuck well.

(CIL IV 2185, 2186)

D120 A record of sexual activity?

15 June, Hermeros fucked here with Phileterus and Caphisus.

(CIL IV 2192)

THE BATHS (D121–30)

THE STABIAN BATHS, POMPEII (D121)

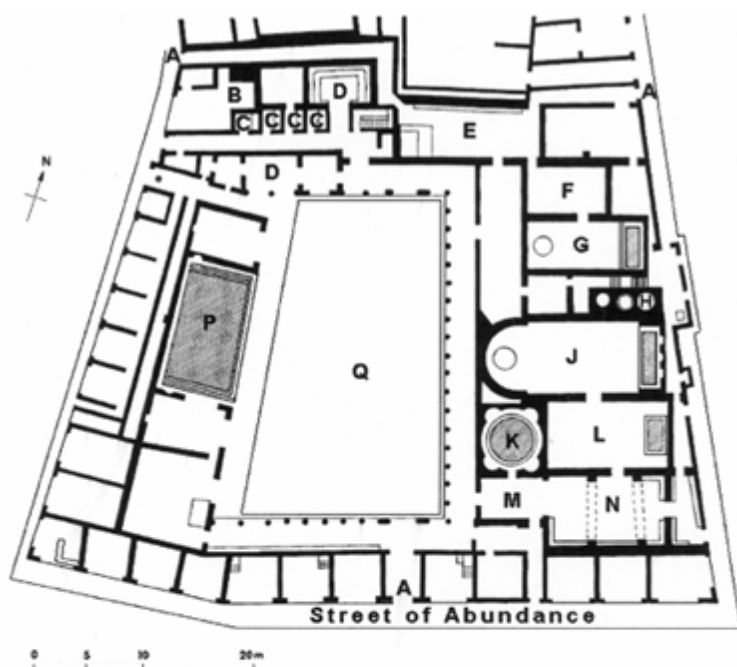
Their earliest phase was perhaps established during the mid-third century BC, with a major phase of modifications during the second century BC. Further alterations were performed in 80–50 BC (**B13**), in the Augustan era, and after AD 62. They preserve features that subsequently disappeared from bath design elsewhere, including individual hip-baths in addition to the communal pools, and the control of the water supply from a well by a waterwheel, rather than via an aqueduct. The sweating room (*laconicum*) mentioned in **B13** was converted into a cold room (*frigidarium*) in the late first century BC, by incorporating a circular pool. This also happened in the Forum Baths. The addition of a swimming pool in the *palaestra* also occurred at about this time.

D121 Plan of the Stabian Baths

See [Figure 4.12](#).

THE FORUM BATHS, POMPEII (D122–24)

These public baths (with separate sections for men and women) were built during the mid-first century BC, and rebuilt under Augustus. In AD 3/4, the duumvirs had a large marble basin set up in the hot room (*caldarium*), around whose rim was an inscription in bronze letters (**D122**). At some point later, during the mid-first century AD, Marcus Nigidius Vaccula donated three bronze benches and a bronze brazier (heater) to the warm room (*tepidarium*) in these baths, as well as a similar bronze brazier to the Stabian Baths. All of these sported pictorial puns on his last name (*cognomen*), Vaccula, meaning ‘little cow’. The legs of the benches terminate in a cow’s head at the top and a hoof at the bottom, and his *cognomen* is omitted altogether from the inscription on the braziers, being replaced by a picture of a little cow (**D123–24**).



KEY			
A	Entrance	J	Caldarium (men's)
B	Well and water-wheel	K	Laconicum, converted to frigidarium
C	Hip-baths	L	Tepidarium (men's)
D	Latrine	M	Vestibule
E	Apodyterium (women's)	N	Apodyterium (men's)
F	Tepidarium (women's)	P	Natatio (swimming pool)
G	Caldarium (women's)	Q	Palaestra
H	Furnace		

Figure 4.12 Plan of the Stabian Baths



Plate 4.7 Bronze bench of Nigidius Vaccula

D122 Dedication of a marble basin

When Gnaeus Melissaeus Aper, son of Gnaeus, and Marcus Staius Rufus, son of Marcus, were duumvirs with judicial power for the second time, they saw to the making of the basin, by decree of the town councillors, at public expense. It cost 5,250 sesterces.

(*CIL* X 817 = *ILS* 5726)

D123a Bronze bench of Nigidius Vaccula

See *Plate 4.7*.

D123b Text

Marcus Nigidius Vaccula at his own expense.

(CIL X 818)

D124 Bronze brazier of Nigidius Vaccula

Marcus Nigidius (picture of little cow) at his own expense.

(CIL X 8071, 48)

PRIVATE BATHS (D125)

D125 Baths of Crassus Frugi

Baths of Marcus Crassus Frugi with seawater and baths with freshwater. Ianuarius, freedman.

(CIL X 1063 = ILS 572)

These baths, whose attractions are advertised by an elegantly inscribed marble plaque, must have been located on the seashore at Pompeii, but remain undiscovered. The inscription had been reused, so its location provides no hint as to the location of the baths. It seems likely that the owner of the baths, Crassus Frugi, is the consul of AD 64. His use of a freedman to run his business is quite usual in Roman society (compare [H42](#), [H46](#), [H55](#), [H78](#)). Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 31.2.5) mentions some exceptional baths of Licinius Crassus near Baiae (further north around the Bay of Naples), which were built in the sea over a natural hot spring.

For the Baths of Julia Felix, see [H73](#).

GRAFFITI IN THE SUBURBAN BATHS, HERCULANEUM (D126–30)

A small cluster of graffiti in a room near the entrance to the baths ([D126–30](#)) reminds us of the close connection between bathing and other bodily pleasures.

D126 Customer (dis)satisfaction

Two friends were here, and since for a long time they had poor service in every respect from an individual called Epaphroditus, and not a moment too soon threw him out. They ate very well and spent 105¹/₂ sesterces while they fucked.

(CIL IV 10675)

D127 Lunch and sex at the baths

Apelles, Caesar's servant of the bedchamber, with Dexter lunched most pleasantly and also fucked.

(CIL IV 10677)

D128 Sex at the baths

We, Apelles Mus with his brother Dexter lovingly fucked two women each twice.

(CIL IV 10678)

D129 Food list

Nuts, drinks 14; pork scratchings(?) 2; bread 3; 3 cutlets 12; 4 sausages 8. 51

(CIL IV 10674)

This is presumably a record of food consumed. The prices are in *asses*.

D130 Message to a lover

Hermeros to his mistress Primigenia: come to Puteoli in the Timinian neighbourhood and ask the banker Messius for Hermeros, slave of Phoebus.

(CIL IV 10676)

RELIGION

Religion played a central part in Pompeian life right from the sixth century BC, when activity focused upon two sanctuaries, those of Apollo next to the Forum (**E1–2**) and of (probably) Hercules and Minerva at the ‘Doric Temple’ in the ‘Triangular Forum’. By the end of the second century BC, more public temples had been added to the town, honouring Jupiter (**E10–13**), Isis (**E3–9**) and Dionysus (for the suburban Sanctuary of Dionysus, see **A19–21**; for religion in the Oscan town, see also **A15**, **A17**). Religious experiences at Pompeii, therefore, drew upon a variety of foreign influences, from Greece and Egypt, at a relatively early date. Some temples in the town and its environs are of disputed identity (such as the so-called ‘Temple of Zeus Meilichios’ in the Theatre district (VIII.vii.25), which is more likely to have been dedicated to Asclepius), while other shrines whose existence is implied from inscriptions, to Ceres and perhaps Neptune (**E16**), have still yet to be discovered. It is plausible that the large temple adjacent to the Basilica was dedicated to Pompeian Venus (**E17–22**). Few of Herculaneum’s public religious buildings have been properly excavated, with the notable exception of two temples overlooking the harbour front (**E29–31**), although a dedicatory inscription does also indicate that there was a temple of the Great Mother in the town (**C6**).

Public cults attracted dedications from individuals and donations by local magistrates (**E2**, **E4–6**, **E10–12**, **E14–16**). Miniature altars and statuettes could be set up in any temple: the deity whose temple it was did not necessarily have to be the one represented. Thus, in the Temple of Isis, statuettes of Venus and Bacchus stood near one of Isis herself (**E4–5**). Apart from a colossal bust of Jupiter from his temple in the Forum (MANN inv. 6266), no cult statues have been found.

The dramatic political change at Rome, with the emergence of the first emperor, Augustus, had an immediate impact upon the cults of Pompeii. Cult officials in charge of the worship of Mercury and Maia first of all included Augustus alongside these deities, but a short time later actually devoted their attentions to Augustus and subsequent emperors alone (**E40–43**). During the lifetime of Augustus himself, we also find priests of the emperor, even before he had been officially deified (**D56–58**). In addition, an entirely new cult of Augustan Fortune was introduced to Pompeii by one of the local elite, who donated some of his own land near the Forum as a site for the new temple

(E44–51).

Official involvement in the town's public cults mirrored the hierarchical structure of Roman society. Women from the elite were excluded from holding political office, but could become prominent in public life as priestesses of Ceres and Venus (E53–69). Some cults created official posts for freedmen and even slaves. The cults of Mercury, Maia and Augustus, and of Augustan Fortune, as well as the local district cults of the *Lares* (the guardian deities of a district) were entrusted to presidents (*magistri*) and attendants (*ministri*), who were generally freedmen and slaves respectively (E40–43, E44–51, E91–93).

The expression of religious sentiment, however, was far from confined to temples or public cults. Religious dedications, commemorations of vows and graffiti are found in houses and shops throughout Pompeii (E24–26, E33–39, E71–72, E94–96). One interpretation of the enigmatic frieze in the Villa of Mysteries sees the room in which it was displayed as a place devoted to the cult of Dionysus. Otherwise, cults in the house focused primarily upon the *lararium*, or shrine of the household gods (*Lares*) often found in the *atrium* or kitchen, and upon the *genius* of the master of the household (E70–77). The large numbers of such shrines indicate widespread religious practices among the inhabitants of Pompeii and Herculaneum as a whole, but popular religious feelings are generally difficult to pin down. Some hints emerge from graffiti (E33–39) and also from paintings, which seem to invoke a deity's support for an enterprise, such as the picture of Mercury outside a dyer's workshop, shown descending from the steps of a temple carrying a money-bag and his wand.

Finally, alongside various pagan cults, there is some meagre evidence suggesting the presence of Jews at Pompeii (E97–99).

TEMPLE OF APOLLO, POMPEII (E1–2)

The Sanctuary of Apollo, to the west of the Forum, was founded by the first half of the sixth century BC. The temple was rebuilt along Hellenistic lines during the second century BC (A15). In the early 70s BC, one of the first actions of the Roman veteran colonists on their arrival in the town was to rededicate the temple's main altar, perhaps as a symbol of the change in regime (B9). At some point before 2 BC, permission was given for the sanctuary to encroach upon neighbouring space (E1). There are some signs of structural repair following earthquake damage, perhaps from AD 62 (C4), but this was not completed before the eruption. Elegant bronze statues of Apollo and his sister Diana in their guise as archer gods were found in the sanctuary, as well as an impressive sundial, mounted upon a marble column next to the

temple (**E2**).

E1 Modifications to the Sanctuary: end of first-century BC, before 2 BC

Marcus Holconius Rufus, duumvir with judicial power for the third time and Gnaeus Egnatius Postumus, duumvir with judicial power for the second time, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors paid 3,000 sesterces for the right to block off light, and saw to the building of a private wall belonging to the *colonia Veneria Cornelia* as far as the roof.

(*CIL* X 787 = *ILS* 5915)

This inscription relates to changes either in the sanctuary's relationship with the Forum to the east or with private houses to the west. It gives legal permission for the blocking off of light from space adjacent to the sanctuary. It names the town in formal terms as the *colonia Veneria Cornelia*. This initially led to the Temple of Apollo, where this was found, being erroneously identified as the Temple of Venus. For Holconius Rufus, see also **D54**, **D56–57**, **F93**.

E2 Dedication of a sundial

Lucius Sepunius Sandilianus, son of Lucius, and Marcus Herennius Epidianus, son of Aulus, duumvirs with judicial power, saw to this being made at their own expense.

(*CIL* X 802)

Standing next to the temple podium, this sundial mounted on an Ionic column is accompanied by an inscribed plaque, recording its donation by a pair of magistrates. The same pair of magistrates also donated a seat and sundial in the Triangular Forum (*CIL* X 831).

TEMPLE OF ISIS, POMPEII (E3–9)

A temple to the Egyptian goddess Isis was probably established in the Theatre district towards the end of the second century BC, reflecting the trading and cultural links between the town and Alexandria. The harbour town of Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), further north-west on the Bay of Naples, also had a temple to an Egyptian deity, Serapis, by 105 BC, and evidence for the cult has been found in the nearby towns of Herculaneum and Stabiae.

Following earthquake damage, the small temple, set within an enclosure, had been completely rebuilt by the son of a freedman from a prominent Pompeian family (**C5**). The opportunity was also taken at this time to take

over part of the adjacent Samnite Palaestra. The popularity of the cult is reflected in the discovery of statuettes of Isis and several cult rattles (*sistra*) in private houses. Furthermore, some twenty household shrines, or *lararia*, were decorated with images of Isis, and several individuals donated statuettes within the sanctuary enclosure (E4–6). In addition, the actor Norbanus was honoured with a portrait bust in the sanctuary, perhaps in connection with his appearances in the adjacent Theatre (D82). The notion that the cult's popularity was the result of some kind of religious crisis, with the rise of a belief-based cult requiring initiation at the expense of 'traditional' public cults, is no longer tenable, although the cult was regarded with suspicion at Rome until the first century AD. The reference to 'worshippers of Isis' in electoral notices (E7–8), however, certainly implies that some at least of her adherents had a sense of group identity not found with other cults.

The discovery of the temple in the 1760s, early on in the excavation of Pompeii, caused a great stir and captured visitors' imaginations. Their interest was partly aroused by the unusual discovery of an 'Egyptian' temple in Italy, but also by the vividness of the remains uncovered in the sanctuary. These included carbonized remains in pits and on the altar, a dead body (presumed to be the priest), statuettes and well-preserved paintings (cut away from the walls and transferred to the royal collection) (E9). Much of the sanctuary's decoration was calculated to emphasize the foreignness of the goddess. For example, a tablet inscribed with genuine hieroglyphs was discovered in front of the temple itself, and paintings depicted Egyptian gods, including the dog-headed Anubis, Bes, Osiris, Harpocrates and Isis herself, as well as Egyptian landscapes peopled with strange creatures, such as the crocodile, ibis and pygmies. Finally, a small structure ('purgatorium'), with steps leading down to a well, was believed to have provided purifying water for the religious ceremonies.

E3 Plan of the Temple of Isis

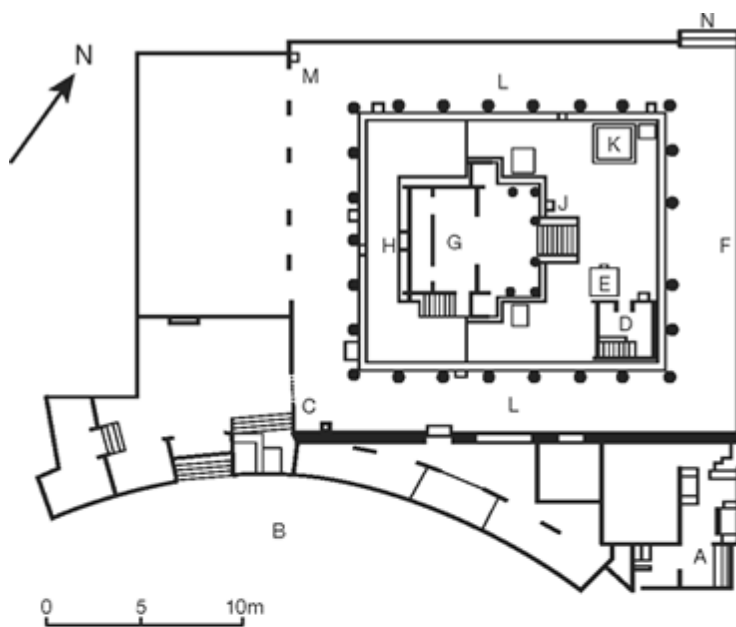
See [Figure 5.1](#).

E4 Statuette of Bacchus

Numerius Popidius Ampliatus, father, at his own expense.

(CIL X 847)

The marble statuette (MANN inv. 6312) depicts Bacchus with a panther, as a version of the Egyptian god Osiris. It was displayed in a small niche incorporated into the rear wall of the temple, which had ears in stucco on either side, a symbol of the deity's responsiveness to prayer. Its dedication, inscribed upon its plinth, reveals that it was set up by the father of the child who had nominally rebuilt the temple.



Key

- | | |
|---|--|
| A | Living quarters |
| B | Theatre |
| C | Herm of Norbanus (D82) and Statue of Venus Anadyomene |
| D | 'Purgatorium' |
| E | Main altar |
| F | Harpocrates niche |
| G | Cella |
| H | Statue of Bacchus (E4) |
| J | Hieroglyphic inscription |
| K | Refuse deposit |
| L | Portico |
| M | Statue of Isis, dedicated by L. Caecilius Phoebus (E5) |
| N | Main entrance and architrave inscription (C5) |

Figure 5.1 Plan of the Temple of Isis

E5 Statuette of Isis

Lucius Caecilius Phoebus erected (this statue); space granted by decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 849)

The marble statuette (MANN inv. 976), executed in an archaizing style, depicts the goddess holding a *sistrum* (the rattle used in her worship) in her right hand, and the key of the Nile in her left. Traces of gilding can still be seen on the marble.

E6 Dedication to Isis of a statuette

To Augustan Isis. Manilia Chrysa [fulfilled] her vow [willingly to the deserving deity.]

(Tran Tam Tinh (1964), 176 no. 148)

This inscribed pilaster, which once supported a (now lost) statuette, was removed from the site into a private collection. Consequently, its original location is unknown, but it may have come from the temple.

ELECTORAL NOTICES OF THE WORSHIPPERS OF ISIS (E7–8)

Both of these notices date from the last decade before the eruption.

E7 Electoral notice near the Temple of Isis

All the worshippers of Isis call for Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(*CIL* IV 787 = *ILS* 6420b)

This notice was displayed on the road outside the Temple of Isis. For Helvius' candidacy, see [F29–72](#).

E8 Support for Cuspius Pansa

Popidius Natalis, his client, with the worshippers of Isis, call for Cuspius Pansa as aedile.

(*CIL* IV 1011 = *ILS* 6419f)

This notice was displayed on the Stabian Street, some 50 metres from the temple.

EXCAVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ISIS (E9)

These passages from the excavation reports illustrate some of the problems encountered by the earliest excavators, as well as the small finds that excited contemporary visitors to the site. At the time, it was believed that pockets of noxious gases (such as carbon dioxide, carbon monoxide and hydrogen sulphide) were trapped underground beneath the volcanic layers deposited by the eruption. At the slightest suspicion that the excavators were coming across such a pocket, work would be immediately abandoned in that area; work was suspended at Pompeii for three months from July 1748, when a hot sirocco wind was thought to be exacerbating the problems of poisonous fumes. Nevertheless, no traces of such gases have been found in more modern excavations, and it may be that some of these fears were groundless. Another difficulty hampering the digging was leakage from the Sarno channel.

E9 Excavation of the Temple of Isis

8 June 1765: What is believed to be a small temple on the estate of Montemurro at Civita has been completely uncovered. This has already been mentioned in the report of 4 May this year. It is part of a larger building, which is included in the hall, already mentioned elsewhere. This second small structure is still entirely decorated with stucco work on all sides {a description follows ...}. This building remained uncovered, and inside nothing was found except for a small staircase, which led underground, whose function still could not be discovered because of the poisonous fumes.

To the sides of the entrance to this building, outside, there are two small altars of soft stone, and in front of these is another larger one, on which there are still ash and small pieces of burnt bones of sacrificial victims. Near to this temple, in the soil of the courtyard, is seen a square hole full of a large quantity of black ash, or of the remains of burnt fruit. At the bottom of this pit was found an iron nail, an Egyptian idol lacking its legs and broken into various pieces, and from its belt downwards decorated with many hieroglyphs. ... Among the remains of burnt fruit, which were seen in the aforementioned pit, the following were extracted from them: various pieces of figs, many pine seeds with their shells and pieces of pine bark, some pieces of walnut, some hazelnut shells and two dates. All of the things described above, as well as the remains of the little idol and the pictures that have been found so far, reveal that this temple was dedicated to some Egyptian deity.

20 September 1765: A small room was discovered adjoining the above-mentioned temple, which has been recognized as having been a kitchen. The following kitchen utensils were discovered there: an iron tripod and an axe of the same metal; two earthenware frying pans, a bowl, two plates and a lamp also of earthenware (the lamp provides a single flame, and in its upper part there is a youth in low relief who is carrying on his shoulders a stick, from which two baskets are hanging).

14 December 1765: Soil was removed in the Temple of Isis, in the place which has been uncovered already for some time, which it would have been possible to believe was the rim of a well if it had not been found covered with the roof. Having seen to removing the volcanic debris, a large quantity of burnt fruits was discovered at the bottom. It was not possible to reach the ancient floor, which is perhaps not very far below, because, as the channel which takes water to the Munitions' Factory passes near to this place and so much water has leaked out, further excavation was prevented. The various burnt fruits, which were removed from here and sent to the Museum, are: pine seeds with pine bark, dates, hazelnuts, and what seemed to be some chestnuts and figs.

4 January 1766: Soil was removed in the room in the temple of Isis, where the painting was discovered in the presence of His Majesty, and in this place was found a bronze *sistrum* {rattle used in worship of Isis}, 11 inches tall with its handle, with four attachments, at the top of which is an animal resembling a cat, and two flowers on the two sides; this is well preserved and perfectly intact.

10 May 1766: In the same room {so-called *ecclesiasterion*} was found a table supported by a pillar and foot, the whole thing 2 feet and 11 inches tall, 3 feet and 8 inches long, and 1 foot and 8 inches wide; and a vase of terracotta, lacking almost completely its lip, 1 foot and 10 inches tall and 1 foot and 4 inches in diameter. Next to the table there was a man's skeleton and beneath the table various chicken bones. Some time ago, during the clearance of soil in the afore-mentioned temple of Isis, about 37 pieces of inscriptions were found. However, as we were unable to put them together in such a way as to form a single word, they were sent to Paderni in the Royal Museum.

(Extracts from *PAH* I, Part 1 pp.171–72, 177, 182–83, 188)

JUPITER AT POMPEII (E10–15)

JUPITER'S TEMPLE IN THE FORUM (E10–13)

E10 Dedication to Jupiter in Greek by an Alexandrian, April 3 BC

Gaius Julius Hephaistion, son of Hephaistion, priest of the community of Frigi, dedicated to Jupiter Frigio in the 27th year of Caesar, in the month of Pharmouthi, on the Emperor's day.

(*CIL* X 796)

This marble plaque, found in the Temple of Jupiter, bears two inscriptions: on one side is an earlier dedication from 3 BC in Greek, and on the other is a later one in Latin ([E11](#)). The name of the dedicator, Hephaistion, and his use of the Greek language and Egyptian dating system evoke the cultural and religious customs of Alexandria. (Compare the presence of another Alexandrian at Pompeii in [H113](#)). The date is 23 April 3 BC, using an Egyptian month and an era starting from Octavian's final victory over Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BC; the 'Emperor's day' in each month was the day on which he was born.

E11 Dedication to Jupiter on behalf of Emperor Gaius Caligula, AD 37

To Jupiter Best and Greatest. For the well-being of [Gaius] Caesar Augustus Germanicus, hailed as victorious general, chief priest, holder of tribunician power, consul, [...] octus at his own expense.

(*CIL X 796*)

Although the vast majority of inscriptions relating to Emperor Gaius Caligula in the Roman world as a whole were destroyed or had his name erased from them following his murder, he had clearly been popular at Pompeii during his reign. He was also nominated as an honorary magistrate there (**F138**). This inscription was engraved on the reverse side of **E10**.

E12 A dedicatory base, AD 47–54

Spurius Turranius Proculus Gellianus, son of Lucius, grandson of Spurius, great-grandson of Lucius, of the Fabian voting tribe; staff officer twice; prefect of the curators of the Tiber channel; prefect with the powers of a praetor in charge of jurisdiction in the city of Lavinium; ‘father’ of the deputation of the Laurentine people in charge of concluding the treaty with the Roman people in accordance with the Sibylline books, which relates to the rites concerned with the origins of the Roman people, the Quirites and of the people of the Latin name, which are observed among the Laurentines; priest of Jupiter; priest of Mars; leading member of the Salii priesthood; augur and pontiff; prefect of the Gaetulian cohort; military tribune of the tenth legion (dedicated this). Space granted by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL X 797 = ILS 5004*)

This small marble base originally supported a statue. It can be dated by its use of the digamma, a letter of the alphabet revived by the emperor Claudius for a short time.

E13 Excavation of the Temple of Jupiter

11 January 1817: It seems that there are beginning to be signs of Signore Arditì's idea, that one day statues must be found in the Forum. In the inner chamber {*cella*} of the aforementioned temple, last Saturday, two large feet were found, and a separate arm with a right hand, corresponding in size to them. The feet are each 2¾ feet long, wearing imperial sandals, and the hand grasps a sceptre, or perhaps the handle of some weapon, so that they seem to belong to a colossal imperial statue, about 19 feet tall.

(*PAH I*, Part 3 p.188)

Other dedications to Jupiter, original context unknown (**E14–15**).

E14 Dedication to Jupiter

Quintus Lollius Scylax and Calidia Antiochis his mother and Marcus Calidius Nasta, to Jupiter, fulfilled their vow willingly to the deserving god.

(CIL X 926)

E15 Dedication to Jupiter Best and Greatest

By command of Venus Fisica, Antistia Methe, wife of Antistius Primigenius (dedicated this) to Jupiter Best and Greatest, by decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 928 = ILS 3180)

This inscription was found during the construction of the Sarno aqueduct at the end of the sixteenth century, before the full-scale excavation of Pompeii. Methe was possibly a slave who was freed to become her master's wife. For Pompeian Venus, see [E17–28](#).

NEPTUNE AT POMPEII (E16)

E16

Sextus Pompeius Ruma, freedman of Sextus, to Neptune, willingly fulfilled his vow.

(CIL X 8157)

This inscription was found outside the town, towards the shore, perhaps where there was once a temple to the sea god.

POMPEIAN VENUS (E17–28)

Venus held a special place at Pompeii, as its guardian deity, and was integral to the colony's identity as *Colonia Cornelia Veneria*. Pompeian Venus is sometimes given the unique cult title Venus Fisica, which perhaps alludes to her links with nature. The title Fisica seems to be derived from Oscan, and is otherwise found elsewhere describing the obscure Oscan deity Mefitis. Venus is invoked to help with various endeavours, whether electoral or in matters of the heart ([E23–26](#)). The significance of the cult is also indicated by the imperial gifts mentioned in two graffiti. Compare also 26[D87](#) and [E15](#).

TEMPLE OF VENUS (E17–22)

At the time of the eruption, this temple was still under reconstruction. Recent excavations have uncovered a series of fragmentary inscriptions where they had been dumped on the building-site, along with other discarded material from previous phases of the temple and a large quantity of lamps, as part of

the temple's redevelopment during the Flavian period. They appear to represent labels for a sequence of statues representing different deities (whose names appear in the nominative case), which had been on display in the Temple of Venus during the Augustan/Julio-Claudian era, and which had probably taken shape over time, given the different styles of lettering used. They are all inscribed upon white Carrara marble with letters 4–5 centimetres high. **E17–18** perhaps echo the similar combination of Virtus and Honos, along with Venus Victrix, in the Theatre of Pompey at Rome.

E17 Statue of Venus' Virtue

Virtue of Venus.

(*AE* (2008) 324)

E18 Statue of Venus' ?Honour

[?Honour] of Venus.

(*AE* (2008) 325)

E19 Statue of Wealth

Wealth.

(*AE* (2008) 326)

An archaic form of the deity's name is used.

E20 Statue of Great Mother

Great Mother.

(*AE* (2008) 327)

E21 Statue of Cupid

Cupid.

(*AE* (2008) 328)

As son of Venus, this statue supports the hypothesis that these statues were originally displayed in her temple.

E22 Statue of Liber Pater

Liber Pater.

(*AE* (2008) 329)

This god is often assimilated with Bacchus.

APPEALS TO POMPEIAN VENUS (E23–26)

E23 Electoral notice

I ask you to elect Numerius Barcha as duumvir, a good man, and may Pompeian Venus [be favourable] to your offerings.

(*CIL* IV 26 = *ILS* 6399)

This painted electoral notice is one of a few that date from the Republican era.

E24 Good wishes for a lover, I.iii.30

May you, my darling, thrive, and may you have the goodwill of Pompeian Venus.

(*CIL* IV 4007)

E25 Venus protecting lovers

Methe, slave of Cominia, from Atella, loves Chrestus. May Pompeian Venus be dear to both of them and may they always live in harmony.

(*CIL* IV 2457)

This graffito was written on the walls of a corridor leading into the Theatre.

E26 Threat of Venus' anger

Whoever harms this, may he leave behind an angry Pompeian Venus.

(*CIL* IV 538 = *ILS* 5138)

This graffito is written on the margin underneath a picture of the beginning and end of a fight between two gladiators.

OFFERINGS TO POMPEIAN VENUS BY NERO AND POPPAEA (E27–28)

Two graffiti from the House of Julius Polybius (IX.xiii.1–3) appear to record gifts sent to the town's guardian goddess by the emperor and his wife. Poppaea is said to have sent jewels, including a beryl (an aquamarine gemstone from India), while Nero (referred to here as Caesar and Augustus) sent gold. On Poppaea's possible connections with Pompeii, see [D45](#).

E27 Jewels from Poppaea

Poppaea sent as gifts to most holy Venus a beryl, an ear-drop pearl and a large single pearl.

E28 Gold from Nero

When Caesar came to most holy Venus and when your heavenly feet brought you there, Augustus, there was a countless weight of gold.

(AE (1985) 284)

VENUS AT HERCULANEUM (E29–31)

Two temples to Venus have recently been identified on the edge of the town, overlooking the shoreline, a small shrine (temple A) and a larger shrine to its west (temple B). The latter appears to have been established in the second century BC, and then to have been redeveloped in the Augustan and then Flavian periods. In addition to a marble altar found near the temples, two further monumental inscriptions were found shattered on the beach below, having been propelled there by the force of the pyroclastic blast from Vesuvius (E30–31). A18 provides further evidence for the cult of Venus at Herculaneum during the Oscan period.

E29 Marble altar to Venus

Maria, slave of Marius Mario, fulfilled her vow to Venus willingly.

(Inv. 2078 = AE (1980) 251)

This inscribed marble altar, set up by a slave who was probably a cult attendant (see E30 for the *Venerii*), was found in room III near the temple.

E30 Dedication of Temple B, AD 70/79

Vibidia Saturnina and Aulus Furius Saturninus, at the dedication of the portrait busts of the Caesars and of the temple of Venus, gave to the town councillors and *Augustales* 20 sesterces each and to the townsfolk [8?] sesterces, and to the *Venerii* 4 sesterces.

(AE (2008) 357)

This inscription was carved upon two adjoining plaques of white marble that together made up a substantial text, probably originally fixed on to the *pronaos* of the temple itself. The whole inscription was probably almost 4 metres wide, with lettering varying from 5–8 centimetres in height. The inscription commemorates activities marking the dedication of the temple, namely the setting up of portraits of Titus and Domitian ('the Caesars'), and the distribution of cash to different groups in Herculaneum. The amounts of cash distributed to each group varied, reflecting different social status; the

town's elite received the largest amount, followed by the townsfolk, and finally the *Venerii*, who were probably slaves who worked within the cult of Venus (see [E29](#)). It is unclear whether Vibidia Saturnina and Furius Saturninus were mother/son or wife/husband.

E31 Rebuilding inscription for Temple of Venus

Vibidia Saturnina, freedwoman of a girl, and Aulus Furius Saturninus, on account of the honours decreed to them and to their family, rebuilt and decorated the temple of Venus which had been damaged with old age, at their own expense, after a *pronaos* had been constructed from its foundations; they also contributed [x-many] sesterces for repairing the [Capit]olium and gave a further 54,000 sesterces to the state on account of their priesthood and highest [municipal insignia].

(*AE* (2008) 358)

This inscription on the temple's epistyle, consisting of three plaques of white marble, totalling 6.27 metres in total width and 74 centimetres in height, with lettering of 13–6.5 centimetres, contains several puzzles. The opening formula, identifying Vibidia Saturnina as 'freedwoman of a girl' (*virginis liberta*) is so far unparalleled. It probably indicates that she was freed by a girl who was still regarded as a minor. A *Capitolium* (temple to the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva) is otherwise unattested at Herculaneum; it is possible that this instead refers to the Capitoline temple at Rome, damaged during the civil war of AD 69. The final part of the inscription is lost; the restored text suggested above should be regarded as a tentative hypothesis of what may be lost.

GENIUS OF HERCULANEUM RESTORED (E32)

E32 Vespasian's gift to Herculaneum

Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus, supreme pontiff, holding tribunician power for the seventh time, hailed victorious commander seventeen times, father of the fatherland, consul seven times and designated for the eighth time, censor, restored the *Genius* of the town of Herculaneum [which had collapsed in an earthquake].

(*AE* (1996) 408)

This inscription, partially preserved upon fragments of a substantial marble plaque, several metres wide, was found in the area of the crossroads between the *decumanus maximus* and *cardo* III. Given its fragmentary state, its text is uncertain, but it appears to record some other large-scale repair work by

POPULAR VIEWS OF THE GODS (E33–39)

E33 A request to the gods (VI.xvi.4–5)

May god always make Felix Aufidius felicitous.

(*CIL* IV 6815)

E34 Attitudes to the gods

He who disdains life will easily despise god.

(*CIL* IV 5370)

E35 A week's calendar

The gods' days:

Of Kronos

Of the Sun

Of the Moon

Of Ares

Of Hermes

Of Zeus Of Aphrodite

(*CIL* IV 5202)

This text is written in Greek, giving the names of the various deities associated with the days of the week (compare [H3](#)).

E36 A lucky charm?

Here lives {Bpicture of phallus} good fortune.

(*CIL* IV 1454)

The symbol of a phallus (erect male penis) is commonly found in Pompeii in what seem to modern eyes as unexpected places, such as on wall plaques at street corners, or, as here, above an oven in a bakery. Although it can simply be a symbol of sex, it is more often a symbol of fertility and prosperity, or of hopes for good fortune.

E37 Invoking Jupiter's anger

Shitter, be on your guard against evil, or else, if you disregard this, may you incur the wrath of Jupiter.

(*CIL* IV 7716)

This text, from III.v.1, is one of a series of graffiti and painted notices reflecting concern about people defecating in inappropriate places.

E38 A beneficent god

The good god lives here in the house of Act[...].

(*CIL* IV 8417)

This graffito is scratched upon a bar-counter in an inn (I.xi.2).

E39 Complaint against Venus, Basilica

Whoever is in love, let him come; I wish to break the ribs of Venus
With sticks and maim the goddess's loins;
If she can perforate my tender heart,
Why can I not break her head with a stick?

(*CIL* IV 1824)

This final graffito shows a disappointed lover turning against the goddess Venus 2 (compare [E24–26](#)).

CULT OF MERCURY AND MAIA, AND AUGUSTUS, POMPEII (E40–43)

Mercury and his mother Maia were worshipped somewhere in Pompeii by an association of freedmen and slaves, under the authority of the local town council. Inscribed plaques, which can be dated to 14 BC and then 2 BC, show how the emperor gradually infiltrated the cult during this period. First of all, Mercury and Maia appear by themselves, then Augustus appears alongside them, and finally Augustus is named by himself. For later dedications, see also *CIL* X 891 (AD 1), X 892 (AD 3), X 895 (AD 23), X 899 (AD 32), X 901 (AD 34), X 902 (AD 34).

E40 A freedman president of Mercury

Publius Ancarsulenus Philadelphus, freedman of Publius, president of Mercury, Ancarsulena Eleutheris, freedwoman of Publius, freedwoman.

(*AE* (1992) 285)

This inscribed marble slab was found c.400 metres from the Villa of Mysteries, on the road from Pompeii to Oplontis, 5 metres below the current ground level. It belongs to a small funerary chamber. Its lettering suggests that it is of a Republican or early Augustan date. The post of ‘president of Mercury’ probably alludes to this freedman’s position in the cult of Mercury

and Maia.

E41 Dedication to Mercury and Maia, 14 BC

Marcus Sittius Serapa, freedman of Marcus, (set this up as) sacred to Mercury and Maia in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Publius Rogius Varus, son of Publius, and Marcus Melsonius, son of Aulus, for the second time duumvirs with judicial power; and of Numerius Paccius Chilo, son of Numerius, and Marcus Ninnus Pollio, son of Marcus, duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings, [in the consulship of] Marcus Crassus and Gnaeus Lentulus.

(*CIL* X 886 = *ILS* 6389)

E42 Dedication by slave attendants of Augustus, Mercury, Maia

Gratus, slave of Arrius; Messius Arrius Inventus; Memor, slave of Istacidius, attendants of Augustus, Mercury, and Maia, [in accordance with a] decree of the town councillors, by command of [...]

(*CIL* X 888 = *ILS* 6390)

E43 Dedication by attendants of Augustus, 2 BC

Aulus Veius Phylax, Numerius Popidius Moschus, Titus Mescinius Amphio, Primus, slave of Marcus Arruntius, attendants of Augustus, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Marcus Holconius Rufus, for the fourth time, and Aulus Clodius Flaccus, for the third time, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Publius Caesetius Postumus and Numerius Tintirius Rufus duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings, in the consulship of Imperator Caesar for the thirteenth time and [Marcus Plautius] Silvanus.

(*CIL* X 890 = *ILS* 6391)

TEMPLE OF AUGUSTAN FORTUNE, POMPEII (E44–51)

At the start of the first century AD, a member of the local elite, Marcus Tullius, paid for the building of a Temple to Augustan Fortune on land owned by him near the centre of the town, just north of the Forum. Together with the erection of a monumental arch just beside it and a portico along the street leading up to it, the overall effect was of extending the monumental centre of the town beyond the Forum itself. He marked off the land that still remained his private property by means of a small tufa marker beside the temple, to the south (E45). At the end of his life, Tullius' contribution to the town was

acknowledged by the councillors, who set up a seat tomb to him just outside the Stabian Gate (E46).

The cult provided a focus of loyalty towards the imperial regime by freedmen and slaves, who served as its presidents (*magistri*) and attendants (*ministri*), in a similar way to the organization of the cult of Mercury, Maia, and Augustus, and of district shrines (E40–47, E91–93). An inscription reveals that it was a requirement of the cult's regulations that the attendants (*ministri*) set up a statue (of what, is not clear), perhaps each year (E48). As with the cult of Mercury, Maia, and Augustus, the town councillors had overall authority for the cult. Many of the cult's bases have been found reused in various parts of the town (E49–51), but some were found in the temple itself (E47–48).

E44 The construction of the Temple of Augustan Fortune, c. AD 3

Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, augur, military tribune by popular demand, built the Temple of Augustan Fortune on his own land and at his own expense.

(CIL X 820 = ILS 5398)

This inscription is displayed inside the temple on an architrave.

E45 Boundary marker separating temple from private house

Private land of Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus.

(CIL X 821 = ILS 5398a)

This short text is inscribed on a boundary marker of volcanic stone, dividing off land donated by Marcus Tullius to the town from his private property.

E46 Public tomb of the temple's founder

To Marcus Tullius, son of Marcus, by decree of the town councillors.

(EE VIII no.330)

The founder of the Temple of Augustan Fortune was awarded a public tomb just outside the Stabian Gate, in the form of a seat where passers-by could pause to rest. This type of funerary monument is distinctive to this locality; exedra- or seat-tombs were large monuments, consisting of a masonry semicircular seat, and were granted by the town council to important men and women in the town (compare E54).

E47 The earliest known dedication, AD 3

Agathermus, slave of Vettius; Suavis, slave of Caesia Prima; Pothus, slave of Numitor; Anteros, slave of Lacutulanus, the first attendants {*ministri*} of Augustan Fortune, by command of Marcus Staius Rufus and Gnaeus Melissaeus, duumvirs with judicial power, in the consulship of Publius Silius and Lucius Volusius Saturninus.

(CIL X 824 = ILS 6382)

This is the earliest statue base set up by attendants (*ministri*) of the cult, in AD 3, and was found in the temple.

E48 The cult's regulations, AD 45

During the consulship of Taurus Statilius and Tiberius Plautius Aelianus, Lucius Staius Faustus, instead of the statue which in accordance with the law of the attendants {*ministri*} of Augustan Fortune he was required to set up, on the proposal of Quintus Pompeius Amethystus, quaestor, they decreed that he should set up two marble bases instead of a statue.

(CIL X 825 = ILS 6385)

This inscribed base, also found in the temple, does not conform to the pattern of the others, but refers to a 'law', the regulations laid down for the cult when it was first established. It is rather poorly inscribed, with several errors in its carving: in the consular date, for instance, the text gives 'Platilio' instead of 'Plautio'. On the upper surface of the base is a hollow in the shape of a foot, indicating that it originally bore a metal statue.

E49 A dedication from AD 39

In the consulship of [[name erased]] and Lucius Apronius, Marcus Alleius Ferox and Aulus Rustius Crustuminus, attendants {*ministri*} of Augustan Fortune, by command of Marcus Messius Balbus and Quintus Lollius Ponticus, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Publius Vedius Siricus and Lucius Habonius Iugus, duumvirs for the supervision of roads, sacred and public buildings.

(AE (2008) 330)

This plaque of cipollino marble was found in the building-site dump at the Temple of Venus (compare [E17–22](#)). The name of Emperor Caligula has been erased in the opening dating formula.

E50 A dedication from AD 50

Lucius Numisius Primus, Lucius Numisius Optatus, Lucius Melissaeus Plocamus, attendants of Augustan Fortune; in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, by command of Lucius Iulius Ponticus and Publius Gavius

Pastor, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Quintus Poppaeus and Gaius Vibius, aediles, in the consulship of Quintus Futius and Publius Calvisius.

(*CIL* X 827 = *ILS* 6384)

E51 A dedication from AD 56

Martialis, slave of Gaius Olius Primus; Manius Salarius Crocus; Primigenius, slave of Gaius Olius Primus, attendants of Augustan Fortune; by command of Quintus Postumius Modestus and Gaius Vibius Secundus, duumvirs with judicial power, and of Gaius Memmius Iunianus and Quintus Bruttius Balbus, aediles, in the consulship of [Lucius D]uvius and Publius Clodius.

(*CIL* X 826 = *ILS* 6383)

EMPEROR WORSHIP AT POMPEII

(E52)

A small temple on the east side of the Forum has been identified as a temple for emperor worship on the basis of the iconography of its marble altar. It displays images closely associated with Emperor Augustus and probably dates from his reign, although a Flavian date has also been suggested for it in the past. See further Dobbins (1992).

It is possible that the attendants of the cult of Augustus which developed out of the cult of Mercury and Maia (**E42–43**) were the assistants to the priests of Augustus. Holconius Rufus and Holconius Celer were both priests of Augustus during the emperor's lifetime, and other imperial priests for later emperors are also known, including Lucretius Satrius Valens (perpetual priest of Nero when designated successor, **D17–20**) and Alleius Nigidius Maius (most likely priest of Vespasian, **D28**). The *Augustales* also engaged in emperor worship, although this may not have been their sole or primary function (**F115–31**).

E52a-b Altar for the emperor in the Forum

See *Plates 5.1 and 5.2*.



Plate 5.1 Altar for the emperor: scene of bull sacrifice



Plate 5.2 Altar for the emperor: sacrificial paraphernalia

This altar is probably Augustan. Its main (west) scene (**E52a**), facing the entrance to the sanctuary portrays a sacrifice of a bull, an animal often used in emperor worship. In detail, what we see is a priest with veiled head offering a libation (liquid offering) at a tripod altar, accompanied by attendants (including a flute-player and the slave who actually does the killing – *victimarius* – carrying an axe), leading the bull to sacrifice in front of a temple with four columns, which is partially covered by drapery. On its east side is a ‘civic crown’, a wreath made up of oak leaves, awarded at Rome for saving citizens’ lives, upon a shield, flanked by laurel trees. This scene reflects the honours granted by the Senate to Augustus in 27 BC. On the north and south sides are depicted sacrificial implements and priestly symbols beneath garlands of fruit hanging from skeletal ox heads (*bucrania*); on the north, a libation dish (*patera*), ladle (*simpulum*) and jug (*urceus*); on the south (**E52b**), a hand-towel (*mantele*), incense-box (*acerra*) and curved augur's staff (*lituus*).

PUBLIC PRIESTESSES AT POMPEII (E53–69)

Public priestesses associated with the cults of Venus and Ceres acted as generous benefactors towards the town. Two of them – Mamia (**E53–54**) and Eumachia (**E55–66**) – made particularly significant contributions to the development of the east side of the Forum. A Holconia (possibly the daughter of Holconius Rufus or Celer) was honoured publicly with a statue (**E67**). Alleia, the daughter of Alleius Nigidius Maius, was a public priestess in the Neronian period (**E68**) and has been suggested as a candidate for a statue of this period found in the market, or *Macellum* (**E69**). For the family of Alleia Decimilla, see **F91**.

MAMIA (E53–54)

E53 Mamia's temple

Mamia, daughter of Publius, public priestess, [built this] to the *genius* [of the colony/of Augustus] on her own land and at [her own] expense.

(CIL X 816)

This large inscription commemorating the construction of a building is thought to belong to the temple adjacent to Eumachia's building on the east side of the Forum, often called the ‘Temple of Vespasian’. The exact identity of the temple is in question, since the key word is now missing from the inscription.

E54 Mamia's tomb



Plate 5.3 Mamia's tomb

To Mamia, daughter of Publius, public priestess, a place for burial was given by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 998 = *ILS* 6369)

At her death, Mamia was honoured with a seat tomb outside the Herculaneum Gate (tomb 4 left) (compare [E46](#)).

EUMACHIA (E55–66)

Eumachia's Building in the Forum (E55–60)

Eumachia built a grandiose building on the east side of the Forum. This replaced some shops and private houses flanking the Forum. She recorded her benefaction in two dedicatory inscriptions, one found complete at the back entrance to the building on the Street of Abundance ([E56](#)), the other (a much grander inscription incorporated above the portico, overlooking the Forum) preserved only in fragments (*CIL* X 811). The back-door inscription is itself a substantial chunk of marble, which had already previously been used for an inscription (*CIL* X 959), but it was recut so that its reverse could be used for Eumachia's text. The date of the building is the subject of considerable debate, with possibilities ranging from 9 BC to AD 22. A Marcus Numistrius Fronto was duumvir in AD 3 (*CIL* X 892), but he is more likely to have been Eumachia's husband, who was perhaps deceased by the time of the building, than her son, who is mentioned in the inscription.

A statue of Eumachia was found in a niche on the building's back-corridor, complete with its inscribed base in a purpose-built niche towards the rear of her building (E57). It depicts her dressed in tunic, *stola*, and cloak, with an idealizing portrait (MANN inv. 6232).

The function of the building is disputed. Its inscription shows that the building was dedicated to Augustan Concord and Piety, perhaps in imitation of Livia; the *porticus Liviae* was built by Augustus in Livia's name and dedicated in January 7 BC by Livia and her son Tiberius. A few months later, on 11 June, Livia then dedicated a shrine (*aedes*) of Concord (*Concordia*) within the portico. Statue bases of Aeneas (E58) and Romulus (E59), which were found outside the front of the building, also imitate monuments at Rome, namely the statues set up in the Forum of Augustus. The iconography of these statues was apparently familiar at Pompeii, appearing in paintings on the Street of Abundance. Romulus was depicted brandishing the *spolia opima* (an award made to a general who had killed in battle the leader of the enemy), and Aeneas leading his family to safety from Troy, holding his son Ascanius by the hand, while carrying his father Anchises on his shoulders. This family group was even parodied in a painting showing them as human figures with dogs' heads, and large phalluses. The highly elaborate doorframe, with its acanthus scrolls inhabited by tiny animals, which recalls the frieze on the Altar of Augustan Peace at Rome, was actually put in place here in modern times. It does not fit this particular entrance, and may in fact belong to the adjacent temple. Even without this, the Augustan programme of decoration is still fairly extensive. Fragments of a statue of Augustan Concord were found in the large central niche opposite the building's main entrance from the Forum. The discovery of Eumachia's statue set up by the fullers has led some to argue that her building served as headquarters for the fullers. It seems unlikely that the rather noxious fulling process itself took place in such a grand edifice, despite the claim that basins were found in the building's courtyard. If these basins did exist, they may well have been related to the rebuilding work in progress in AD 79 (E60). No clear picture emerges of what the building was used for, and indeed it may well have served a variety of functions.

E55 Plan of Eumachia's Building

See [Figure 5.2](#).

E56 Dedicatory inscription

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess, in her own name and that of her son, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, built at her own expense the *chalcidicum*, crypt and portico in honour of Augustan Concord and Piety and also dedicated them.

(CIL X 810 = ILS 3785)

E57a Eumachia's statue (MANN inv. 6232)

See *Plate 5.4*.

E57b

To Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess; the fullers (set this up).

(*CIL* X 813 = *ILS* 6368)

E58 Statue of Aeneas

Aeneas, [son] of Venus and Anchises, [led] into Italy the Trojans who had survived when Troy was captured [and burnt ... (3 lines lost here) ...], founded [the town of Lavinium and reigned there] for three years; in the Laurentine war he did not disappear, and [was called] Father Indigens, and was received among the company of the gods.

(*CIL* X 808 + 8348 = *ILS* 63)

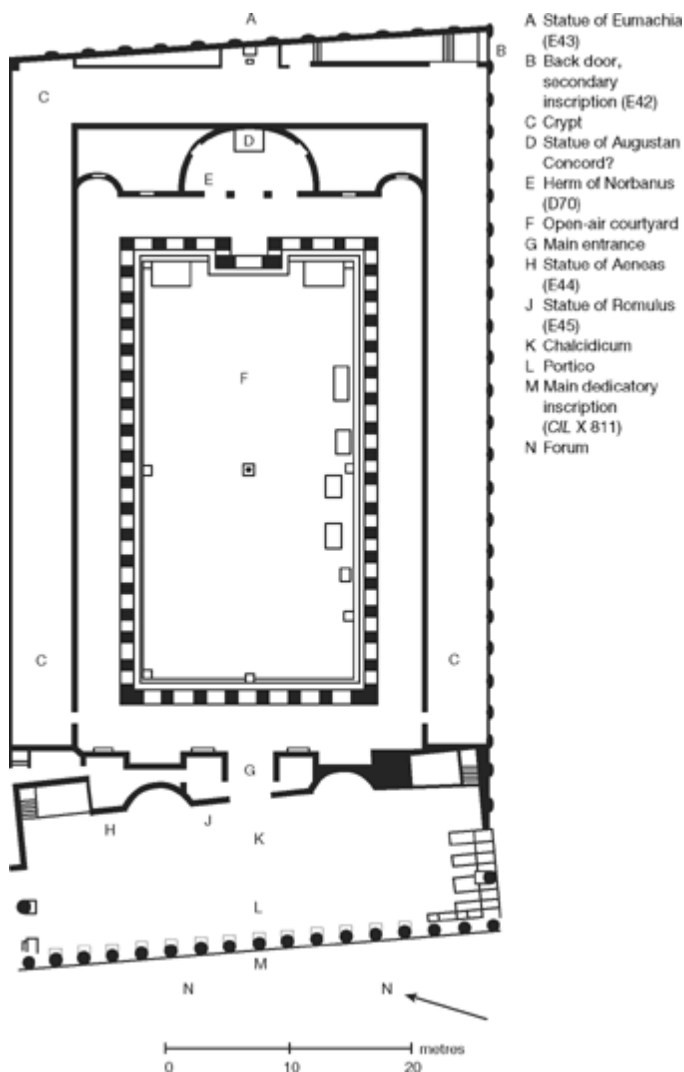


Figure 5.2 Plan of Eumachia's Building



Plate 5.4 Eumachia's statue (MANN inv. 6232)

E59 Statue of Romulus

Romulus, son of Mars, founded the city of Rome and reigned for 38 years; he was the first general to dedicate glorious spoils *{spolia opima}* to Jupiter Feretrius, having slain the enemy's general, King Acro of the Caeninenses, and, having been received among the company of the gods, was called Quirinus.

(CIL X 809 = ILS 64)

E60 Excavation reports on the discovery of Eumachia's Building

15 January 1820: Continuing during the last days of last week to clear the secret passage, which leads from the entrance to the left of the public building near to the Forum {i.e. Eumachia's Building} to a temple adjacent to it. A store was found of 16 large white marble slabs, each one 7 ft long, 4 ft high ...

This marble store must perhaps have served for the restoration of the building, as is apparent from various pieces of cornices and marble decoration, which were found in an unfinished state, scattered everywhere in the area.

(*PAH* II, p.14)

ANOTHER GIFT BY EUMACHIA (E61)

E61 Eumachia's gift of a statue

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, (set up this) statue.

(*AE* (1992) 277)

An inscribed plaque records another gift to the town by Eumachia, but we know neither the nature of the statue nor its original context.

EUMACHIA'S TOMB (E62–66)

The tomb (110S, outside the Nucerian Gate) of the public priestess and benefactor, Eumachia, was exceptionally grand, the largest tomb discovered so far in Pompeii. It consisted of three parts: a large terrace, raised up above street level, which led to a huge seat area, with finally an enclosure behind, where burials were placed. This was framed at the rear by a tall structure, topped by a frieze of an Amazon fight. Its façade was 13.90 metres long and it extended back 13.09 metres. Entrance to the tomb was via a locked door, which gave access to the seven steps up to the terrace. [E62b](#) ([Plate 5.5](#)) shows the terrace with the seat, and herms found in situ.

Unlike other major benefactors, Eumachia was not the recipient of a public seat tomb (compare [E46](#), [E54](#)). The tomb which she built for herself, however, incorporated a huge seat area, 13.55 by 5.65 metres, much bigger than any of the seats granted by the council. Much of the tomb's decoration had been plundered before it was excavated, probably largely during late antiquity, given finds of late-Roman objects there.

Eumachia's own funerary inscription was a simple epitaph divided in two across the main façade of the tomb ([E62a](#)). Ten herms were found on the terrace, but six do not bear inscriptions. From the four inscribed herms ([E63–66](#)) it is possible to trace how use of the tomb was extended from Eumachia and her immediate family in Tiberian times to the family of the prominent Alleius Nigidius Maius (on whom, see [D24–29](#) and [H74](#)), by Neronian times or later. The herms record the burial here of his adoptive mother and some of his freedmen (for his daughter, see [E68](#)). This implies that the two families had become linked, perhaps by adoption. Judging from his name, Alleius Nigidius Maius himself had been born a Nigidius, and then been adopted by the Alleii. The possibility that his adoptive mother may have been a

freedwoman (again, judging from her name) suggests that his career may have been one of striking social mobility. The other herms, of his freedmen ([E65–66](#)), show how they too basked a little in his reflected glory.

E62a Inscription on Eumachia's tomb

Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, for herself and her family.

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 110S)

E62b Eumachia's tomb



Plate 5.5 Eumachia's tomb

E63a Herm of Eumachius Aprilis

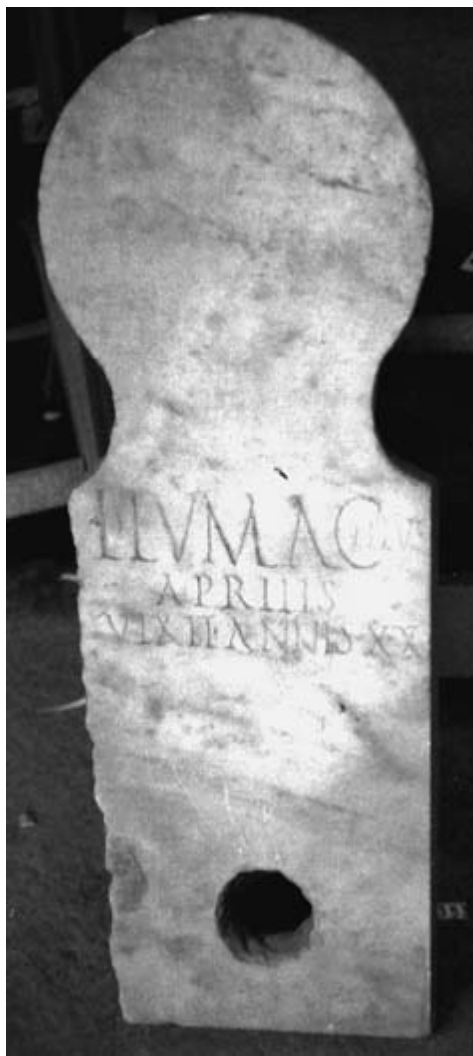


Plate 5.6 Herm of Eumachius Aprilis

E63b

Lucius Eumachius Aprilis, lived 20 years.

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 11OS no.7)

E64 Herm of Pomponia Decharcis

Pomponia Decharcis, wife of Alleius Nobilis, mother of Alleius Maius.

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 11OS no.13)

E65 Herm of Cn. Alleius Eros

To Gnaeus Alleius Eros, freedman of Maius, appointed as *Augustalis* free of

charge, to whom the *Augustales* and inhabitants of the country district decreed 1,000 sesterces for his funeral rites. Lived 22 years.

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 11OS no.10)

E66 Herm of Cn. Alleius Logus

Gnaeus Alleius Logus, deserving of all colleges.

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 11OS no.12)

HOLCONIA (E67)

E67 Honours for Holconia

To Holconia, daughter of Marcus, public priestess.

(CIL X 950/1)

This inscription accompanied an honorific statue to Holconia, which was probably part of an arch honouring her family, at the crossroads outside the Stabian Baths, where a statue base and statue in honour of Holconius Rufus was also found (**F93**).

ALLEIA (E68–69)

E68 Public priestess Alleia

Alleia, daughter of Maius, priestess of Venus and Ceres, to herself, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, with [public] money.

(EE VIII 855)

E69 Statue of a local priestess, from the *Macellum* (MANN inv. 604)

(See [Plate 5.7](#).) Although the identity of this woman is unknown, her position as a priestess is indicated by her veiled head, her olive wreath and her holding a libation dish (*patera*) and an incense box. Her hairstyle suggests a Neronian date. In another niche of the same building was found a heroic semi-nude statue of a young man.



*Plate 5.7 Statue of a local priestess, from the *Macellum* (MANN inv. 604)*

CULTS IN THE HOME **(E70–77)**

**E70 Shrine of the household gods (*lararium*),
House of the Vettii, Pompeii**



Plate 5.8 Shrine of the household gods (*lararium*), House of the Vettii, Pompeii

Many houses had a shrine in their main reception room (*atrium*) or kitchen. This example, from the House of the Vettii, is particularly lavish; it is located in a secondary *atrium* next to the kitchen. In the pediment can be seen a libation dish (*patera*) at the centre, a knife to the right and a skeletal ox head to the left. Below, in the painting, at the centre appears the figure of the *genius*, dressed in a toga, with veiled head. He is carrying a libation dish (*patera*) in his right hand and incense box in his left. On either side of him the *Lares* (household gods) appear as youthful male figures dressed in tunics, carrying drinking-horns and a wine-bucket. At the bottom a snake slithers towards offerings upon a small altar.

**E71 Vow to household gods, House of Gaius Julius
Polybius (IX.xiii.1–3), Pompeii**

For the well-being, return and victory of Gaius Julius Philippus. Publius Cornelius Felix and Vitalis, slave of Cuspius, made a vow here to the household gods.

(*AE* (1985) 285)

This inscription accompanies an elaborately painted shrine, which depicts a *genius* sacrificing at an altar, around which a snake entwines itself. On either side appear *Lares*.

E72 A slave's vow, II.iv.13, Pompeii

Felix [made] a vow to the household gods {*Lares*}.

[*CIL* IV 9887]

This is a painted inscription inside a placard, on a household shrine in a kitchen. Given the inscription's location and the name Felix, this is probably a vow made by a household slave. Painted upon the shrine are a figure praying, the *Lares* pouring libations, and a snake.

E73 Dedication by a steward, Herculaneum

Diomedes, steward, *magister* to the household gods and to the household, set this up at his own expense.

(*AE* (1980) 247)

This is inscribed upon a small marble tablet found in the 'House of the Gem'.

E74 Altar to Hercules, Herculaneum

Hercules.

(*AE* (1980) 250)

A tufa altar, 13 centimetres high, dedicated to Hercules, was found in *insula* Or. II, 10. It illustrates the presence of non-domestic gods in private space (compare [A17](#), altar to Flora).

THE GENIUS OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S MASTER (E75–77)

In addition to worshipping the household gods, members of the household also made offerings to the *genius* (divine spirit) of the master of the household (*paterfamilias*). A herm (portrait bust set upon a short marble column) located in the main reception room (*atrium*) or the household shrine itself might provide a focal point for such ceremonies ([E75–76](#); compare *CIL* X 864).

**E75 Freedmen's dedication to their patron's *genius*,
IX.i.20, Pompeii**

To the *genius* of our Marcus and to the *Lares*. The two Diadumeni, freedmen (set this up).

(CIL X 861 = ILS 3641)

This is inscribed upon a marble plaque incorporated into the household shrine.

**E76a Herm of Lucius in the House of Caecilius
Iucundus, Pompeii**

See [Plate 5.9](#).

E76b

To the *genius* of our Lucius. Felix, freedman (set this up).

(CIL X 860 = ILS 3640)

Two herms were found in the *atrium* of the House of Caecilius Iucundus (V.i.26), one on either side of the doorway into the *tablinum*, opposite the main entrance to the house. One of these was found together with its bronze portrait bust still intact, and bronze genitalia beneath (MANN inv. 110663). The portrait depicting an ageing man, with a prominent wart, is thought to date from the Augustan period, and was set up by a freedman called Felix. He could have been a favoured freedman who eventually became his ex-master's heir and the father of the banker Lucius Caecilius Iucundus. For other finds from this house, see [C3](#), [D90](#), [F17](#), [H102–15](#).



Plate 5.9 Herm of Lucius in the House of Caecilius Iucundus, Pompeii

E77 Herm of Primus, VI.xiv.20, Pompeii

To our Primus. Anteros, treasurer (set this up).

(CIL X 865)

CULT OF THE DEAD (E78–86)

Rituals at the graveside were an important aspect of Roman religion, not just at the time of burial, but at festivals of the dead, such as the *Parentalia*. At Pompeii, the precise location where an individual's ashes are interred is often marked by a small monument, known as a *columella*, or herm. These *columellae* consist of a small marker, designed to be planted in the ground, with a rounded top intended to resemble a human head (see Plate 5.6). At its rear, this rounded top has a hairstyle carved upon it, distinguishing male (short back and sides) from female (with bun). Chemical analysis of a sample of seventeen *columellae*, some marble and others lava, from the Nucerian Gate necropolis at Pompeii has revealed that they all retain traces of paint pigments, suggesting that the markers may have been individualized by use of colour paint. These humanized markers were perhaps intended to represent the divine spirit of the departed (*genius* for males, *iuno* for females). Placed within a funerary enclosure belonging to a particular household, these *columellae* marked the spot where the ashes of the deceased were interred in a

lidded jar below, along with other remnants from the funerary pyre (such as remains of the funerary couch) and offerings such as coins, glass perfume-flasks and various pottery vessels. A length of tubing was also often inserted into the ground, to allow libations to be poured into the ground below.

E78 Herm of Melissaëa Amyce, outside Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii

To the *Iuno* of Melissaëa Amyce.

(*CIL* X 1009 = *ILS* 8055)

E79 Herm of Tyche, outside Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii

To the *Iuno* of Tyche, (slave) of Julia Augusta, worshipper of Venus (?).

(*CIL* X 1023 = *ILS* 8053)

**RITUALS AND COMMEMORATION
AT THE TOMB OF P. VESONIUS PHILEROS
(E80–86)**

Recent excavations inside the tomb enclosure of P. Vesonius Phileros have focused upon tracing the changing fortunes of those buried within and upon reconstructing the rites that took place at the tomb. The tale of false friendship, which is related on the façade of the tomb, is strikingly mirrored in the treatment of the burials of individuals within the enclosure. Three figures are prominently represented on front of this tomb outside the Nucernian Gate (Tomb 23OS) by statues; in the centre is the deceased's patron, Vesonia, daughter of Publius, flanked by two men, the deceased Publius Vesonius Phileros and his 'friend' Marcus Orfellius Faustus. Vesonius erected the tomb during his lifetime (and had to add *Augustalis* later on). Eighteen herms were excavated inside the tomb enclosure, including herms of Vesonia, Phileros and Orfellius. Here the impression of social hierarchy differs from the statues on tomb façade, with herms of Orfellius and Phileros appearing side by side in the key axial location, and Vesonia set apart. Phileros' renouncement of his friendship with Orfellius is confirmed by the fact that the herm of Orfellius has been sliced off where the shaft enters the ground. There is evidence (in the form of pig bones) for a ritual meal being shared at the tomb, and a coin that had been burnt on a pyre was then buried with the deceased's ashes in an urn. Still unpublished are three other inscriptions, on which the name of Phileros appears: on a boundary marker at the entrance to the enclosure; on the plaster sealing the tomb; and on a herm indicating his burial-place.

E80 Dedicatory inscription on tomb's façade

Publius Vesonius Phileros, freedman of a woman, *Augustalis*, built this monument for himself and his kin in his lifetime, for Vesonia daughter of Publius, his patron, and for Marcus Orfellius Faustus, freedman of Marcus, his friend.

(*AE* (1986) 166a + *AE* (2008) 323)

E81 A tale of false friendship

Stranger, delay a brief while if it is not troublesome, and learn what to avoid. This man whom I had hoped was my friend, I am forsaking: a case was maliciously brought against me; I was charged and legal proceedings were instituted; I give thanks to the gods and to my innocence, I was freed from all distress. May neither the household gods nor the gods below receive the one who misrepresented our affairs.

(*AE* (1964) 160)

E82 Herm of Vesonius Phileros

Publius Vesonius Phileros.

(*AE* (2006) 291)

This is inscribed upon a marble herm inside the tomb enclosure.

E83 Herm of Vesonia

Vesonia daughter of Publius.

(*AE* (2006) 292)

This inscription upon a marble herm, with female hairstyle, identifies where Phileros' patron was buried.

E84 Herm of a teenager

To Publius Vesonius Proculus, lived 13 years.

(*AE* (2006) 293)

Otherwise unknown, commemorated with a marble herm.

E85 Herm of Vesonia Urbana

Vesonia Urbana, lived for 20 years.

(*AE* (2006) 294)

Otherwise unknown, commemorated with a limestone herm.

E86 A slave's herm

Eliodorus, lived for 17 years.

(*AE* (2006) 295)

Otherwise unknown, commemorated with a marble herm.

VISIONS AND VOWS (E87–89)

Individuals might choose to set up monuments to commemorate particular religious experiences.

E87 Response to a vision

Pacuvius Erasistratus, after a vision

(*CIL* X 930)

This thin marble plaque was affixed to an altar in a shop, IX.1.25, Pompeii.

E88 Fulfilment of a vow

Antiochus fulfilled his vow.

(*CIL* X 863)

This was inscribed upon a small marble altar found in VII.xii.26, Pompeii.

E89 A vow to Isis

Pilo[ca]lus fulfilled his vow willingly to the deserving deity.

(*CIL* IV 882)

This text from Pompeii accompanied a painting of Isis.

CROSS-ROAD SHRINES TO THE *LARES* AT POMPEII (E90–96)

Pompeii was divided up into districts, each of which had a shrine to the guardian gods of the neighbourhood (the *Lares*). These shrines are generally located at street corners on main roads, or at junctions on to main roads. Over thirty such shrines have been identified in the town. The cults were tended by low-status individuals appointed annually, often freedmen presidents (*magistri*) and their slave attendants (*ministri*), and their names could be displayed publicly next to the shrines (E91–93). Some cross-road shrines have also preserved various dedications and requests (E94–96). The actual shrine can consist of any combination of an altar, niche, and chapel. Most often, remains are found of the paintings accompanying the shrine. Typical themes

include the *Lares* holding up drinking-cups, four figures (probably the *magistri*) carrying out a sacrifice, a snake representing the location's divine spirit (*genius loci*), and attendants of the sacrifice, such as a flute-player or incense-carrier. Behind the altar (**E90**) can dimly be seen a snake and *Lar*. Inscriptions alongside shrines are more rarely found, but can include lists of the neighbourhood's officials presiding over the cult.

E90 District shrine on a street corner, between I.xi and I.ix

See *Plate 5.10*.

E91 Neighbourhood cult officials in 47–46 BC

During the year when Gaius Julius Caesar was dictator for the second time and Marcus Antonius was master of the horse {47 BC}, the presidents of the neigh – bourhood and of the crossroads: Marcus Blattius, son of Marcus; Marcus Cerrinius, son of Marcus; Marcus Sepullius [...]; [...]; Quintus Pra[...]; Gaius Corne[lius ...]; [...]; Publius Ro[...]ius, slave of [...]; Salvius E[...]*ro*, slave of Marcus.

During the consulship of [Gaius *Caes*]ar and Marcus Lepidus {46 BC}: [...] Blattius, son of Marcus; Gaius Ermatorius, son of Publius; Marcus Titius Plutus, freedman of Marcus; Marcus Stronnius Nic[...]*o*, freedman of Marcus; Marcus Oppius Aes[...], freedman of Spurius; Gaius Cepidius [...], of Gaius; [...].

(*CIL* IV 60 = *ILS* 6375)

This inscription was painted on a house-front along the Street of Abundance near the Forum. It gives the names of the neighbourhood officials in charge of the crossroads cult for the years 47 and 46 BC. It may originally have been situated next to an altar, but no trace of one remains. It is painted in small black letters on a block of tufa covered by plaster and was not visible in AD 79. After excavation, however, once the plaster became exposed to the elements, it gradually peeled off, eventually revealing this inscription beneath. It is highly unusual for such an old painted inscription to be preserved. Other partially preserved lists of names of neighbourhood presidents have also been found painted at crossroads (*CIL* IV 7807, 7425, 7855).

E92 Cult officials in charge of a cross-road shrine

Primigenius, slave of Caesetia; Stalbnus, slave of Numerius Maro, Chius, slave of Gaius Virius Primigenius.

(*CIL* IV 7425)



Plate 5.10 District shrine on a street corner, between I.xi and I.ix

This list of names was written with charcoal inside a placard, above an altar fixed to a wall situated at the corner of I.xi. It gives the names of the local district officials, or more probably their attendants, in charge of the cult. Below the text were pictures relating to the cult, with two snakes below, and above two *Lares* with drinking-cups next to a figure sacrificing. Its excavators could discern five layers of painting, which indicates that the shrine's painting was renewed over a period of some years. On the upper surface of the altar itself were found considerable quantities of ash and wood, perhaps the remnants of burnt offerings.

E93 Slave cult officials

Successus, Victor, Axclepiades, Cosstas.

(CIL IV 7855)

This painted placard contains the names of the presidents of this cross-roads cult, who appear to be slaves. It accompanies an altar and painting on a corner of the Street of Abundance. The painting depicts a snake below, approaching offerings, and a sacrifice by the cult's officials at an altar, flanked by two *Lares*. Above appears the inscription in a placard.

E94 A dedication, IX.viii.8

Sacred to Well-being.

(*CIL* IV 3774 = *ILS* 3822)

This dedication is painted above an altar at a street corner, where there is a painting of two horns-of-plenty and a garland.

E95 A request to the *Lares*, I.xi

By the sacred *Lares*, I ask you ...

(*CIL* IV 8426)

This appears to the left of a street-corner shrine, where a painting of a *Lar* and a snake can still be faintly seen (compare [Plate 5.10](#)). On top of the altar were found the carbonized remains of a sacrifice of a chicken.

E96 A gift to the *Lares*

Agathemerus and Heracla presidents of the *Lares*, gave as a gift.

(*CIL* X 927)

This is a more costly gift, inscribed upon a bronze plaque, which was originally affixed to a wall.

JEWS (E97–99)

There is still considerable debate about the extent of Jewish presence in Pompeii and Herculaneum, with some texts suffering from over-zealous interpretation of earlier scholars. Some personal names suggest a Jewish connection: a Maria is listed among a group of textile workers (*CIL* IV 1507), and a Martha ([D108](#)) is found at Pompeii, while the name David appears in a graffito from Herculaneum (*JWE* I 41). It is difficult, however, to be certain that such names are specifically Jewish rather than more generally semitic in origin. No unequivocal evidence has been found of Christianity at Pompeii (compare [D100](#)).

E97 A Judaeon amphora

Trules(?) Judaeae.

(CIL IV 6990 = *JIWE* I 40)

The word ‘Judaeae’ appears in Greek on four *amphorae* found in a bar at I.viii, documenting the importation of wine from Judaea.

E98 Special *Garum*

Kosher(?) *garum*.

(CIL IV 2569)

These labels (*garum cast.*) on two *amphorae* have been interpreted by some as indicating kosher food, but by others as relating to food used in other eastern religions. Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 31.95) tells us that special (*castimoniarum*) *garum* is made from fish without scales for religious and Jewish rites.

E99 Reflections upon the destruction of Pompeii (IX.i.26, Street of Abundance)

Sodom, Gomorrah.

(CIL IV 4976 = *JIWE* I 38)

These words were written in large letters in charcoal on a painting in the *triclinium* of IX.i.26. Given its context, some 1.8 metres above floor level, it seems likely that it was written at some time after the eruption, as a comment on how Pompeii's destruction appeared to echo that of the biblical cities. It shows knowledge of the Old Testament (*Genesis* 13.13 and 18–19), which culminates in 19.24 with ‘Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven’.

POLITICS AND PUBLIC LIFE

In the colony of Pompeii, magistrates were elected for a period of one year to lead the town council. An anecdote about the Roman author and politician Cicero (**F1**) represents him commenting favourably on democracy at Pompeii. The point of Cicero's comment was that in the 40s BC, Julius Caesar as dictator appointed men directly to the Senate at Rome, whereas no such direct patronage operated at Pompeii; someone wishing to become a councillor had to stand for democratic election, although exceptions did occur later (see **C5**, **D16**, **F90**). The members of the town council (equivalent of the Senate at Rome), were all freeborn male citizens, of good character and reputable profession (e.g. not gladiators, actors, or public executioners). Councillors had to live in the town or its immediate surroundings. A minimum level of property was required, but we do not know what this was at Pompeii. Membership of the council was for life. Councillors enjoyed various privileges, including the best seats at public shows in the theatres and amphitheatre. As in all Roman towns, politics and religion were closely allied; the leading men among the elite would serve both as the town's magistrates and as its priests. The council as a whole controlled civic finances and public religion, and had authority over areas of public space (notably the Forum, but also streets of tombs and religious spaces – **E5**, **E12**, **E15**, **E41–43**, **E50**). It would grant honorific tombs and statues to the town's most important benefactors in specific areas of public space (**B15**, **E46**, **E54**; **D8–9**, **D56–57**, **D82**) as well as other forms of honours (**D16**, **E31**, **E65**). It supervised the construction of new public buildings and any other modifications to them (**B9–11**, **B13–14**, **D1–3**, **D5**, **D122**, **E1**), and also the implementation of standard weights and measures (**F88**, **H98**). For evidence of individual magistrates' activities, see **F86**. In the case of Herculaneum, by contrast, wax tablets (**G2–3**, **G12**) and one of the rare painted inscriptions to have been preserved in the town give us a vivid picture of the legal duties of local magistrates (**F87**).

Each year at Pompeii, elections for two aediles and two duumvirs were held in March, with the newly elected magistrates beginning their year in office on 1 July. There were two junior magistrates each year, known as aediles, or sometimes called 'duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings'

([E41](#), [E43](#)). There were also two senior magistrates, known as *duumvirs* (literally ‘two men’, the equivalent of the consuls at Rome). They had to have held the post of aedile already, usually three to five years earlier. They presided over meetings of the council and were in charge of fulfilling decrees passed by the council and approving public building contracts. Prefects were appointed in exceptional cases (like the *dictator* at Rome) (see [D6](#), [D40b](#), [F138](#)). In the early years of the colony, the two pairs of *duumvirs* and aediles were collectively known as *quattuorvirs* (‘board of four men’) ([B9](#)). Important members of the elite might be elected as *duumvir* on more than one occasion (exceptionally, Marcus Holconius Rufus was elected five times [D57](#), [F93](#)). The most important magistracy was only elected every five years. This office was the quinquennial (literally ‘five-yearly’), whose task it was to revise the roll of citizens (census) and update the membership list of the town council. Again, this was a local equivalent of the censors at Rome. A long list of names at Herculaneum is now considered likely to be a list of citizen voters in the town ([F89](#)), drawn up as part of the town's census procedures.

One of the unique phenomena of the historical record preserved at Pompeii is the huge quantity of painted notices relating to local elections ([F2–84](#)). Around 2,800 examples have been found on the outside walls of houses and public buildings, clustered along major roads and at busy junctions. Tombs on the roads leading out of the town also displayed such notices, sometimes relating to towns other than Pompeii ([F81–84](#)). By contrast, only a single possible electoral notice has so far been found at Herculaneum ([F85](#)). Most of the notices were produced by professional signwriters ([F74–80](#)). The vast majority of notices date from the final years of Pompeii's existence, but some earlier ones have also been traced, often preserved underneath more recent notices. A few very fragmentary ones are even in Oscan. Most of the notices recommend an individual for election to a particular magistracy. A few denigrate a candidate ([F11–13](#), [F65](#)). Generally, the content of the notices is fairly formulaic and brief. In some cases they simply give the candidate's name and the office being sought ([F31](#)). In others they give the name of his supporters, which may be an individual or apparently a whole group, usually of traders ([F14–28](#), [F35–64](#)). Sometimes the supporter is also the resident or owner of the property upon whose façade the notice is posted ([F17–19](#)). A surprising number of supporters are women, even though they could not actually vote ([F51](#), [F54](#), [F56–58](#)). A few give some indication of the candidate's personal qualities ([F4–10](#), [F31–33](#)). Political parties in the modern sense did not exist. In addition to painted notices canvassing support for candidates before elections, one was apparently acclaimed after his success too ([F73](#)).

This exceptional documentation of elections at Pompeii has yielded some interesting insights into the functioning of local politics. It was quite usual for electoral notices of one year to be whitewashed over, and for the next year's notices to be painted on top of them. By studying the relative layering of

notices, Franklin (1980) reconstructed a list of candidates at Pompeii for the last nine years before the eruption.

In addition to these notices, our other main sources of information about local politics and career patterns are monumental inscriptions, chiefly honorific inscriptions on statue bases (D8–9, D56–58, F93, F95–99, F106–09) and epitaphs upon tombs (D11, F91–92, F111–14, F154). These tend to give an outline of the individual's career. Very few epitaphs have been found at Herculaneum (F103, F110), but the town has produced a rich crop of honorific inscriptions and their statues. Whereas the careers of the elite at Pompeii took place essentially upon a local stage, we can see at Herculaneum how M. Nonius Balbus played an exceptional role as town benefactor even though he held no public office in the town itself, but was instead active on the empire-wide stage (F94–105).

Men of rather humbler backgrounds appear to have played prominent roles in Pompeii's Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District. An inscription of 7 BC (F153) records the names of the first slave attendants (*ministri*) who supported the work of the presidents (*magistri*), implying that administration in the district was radically reorganized at this time, perhaps in imitation of Augustus' reorganization of the city of Rome in the same year. Despite the location of this district beyond the town's walls, its officials acted as public benefactors in the heart of the town, paying for seating in the Amphitheatre (see also D1). One of its presidents (*magistri*), though a mere freedman (and as such, excluded from becoming a town councillor) even laid claim to the symbols of the highest Roman political authority upon his tomb (F154). Inhabitants of country districts appear in other inscriptions, but may not belong to this particular district (E65, F114, F152, F155).

The Senate and emperor at Rome could also impose their authority upon the local council, but apparently did so only rarely, such as when the Roman Senate imposed a penalty upon the Pompeians following the riot in the Amphitheatre (D39–46). This was in response to a particular local crisis. By contrast, the other major intervention from Rome – the recouping of public lands – occurred on an empire-wide scale under Vespasian (F148). The town was, naturally enough, always eager to secure the support of the reigning emperor, even of an emperor condemned by later history as a madman (F138), since the town council elected Gaius Caligula an honorary duumvir twice. Another sign of enthusiasm for the current regime was to vote an honorific statue to the emperor or a member of his family. Particular individuals at Herculaneum were especially eager to show their allegiance to the imperial family as a whole, not just to the emperor himself, resulting in cycles of statues representing the family as a whole. Notable examples depicted the Julio-Claudians and Flavians (F122, F124–31, F137, F139–40, F143–45). What survives can only be a tiny fraction of the original number of honorific imperial inscriptions (F133–45).

ELECTIONS AT POMPEII (F1–85)

F1 Elections at Rome and Pompeii compared

On another occasion, Cicero openly mocked Julius Caesar's willingness to appoint people to the Senate. For when he was asked by his host Publius Mallius to hasten his stepson's entry to the town council, he replied in front of a great many people, 'He shall have it at Rome, if you wish; at Pompeii it is difficult.'

(Cicero, quoted in Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.3.11)

ELECTION NOTICES (F2–85)

TYPICAL BRIEF EXAMPLES (F2–3)

F2 Quinquennial election (see also [Plate 4.2](#))

I beg you to elect Satrius quinquennial.

(*CIL* IV 7620)

F3 Aedile election

Sabinus asks you to elect Marcus Holconius aedile.

(*CIL* IV 880)

CANDIDATES' QUALITIES (F4–10)

The oldest notices, from the Republic, tend also to be the simplest, recommending someone as a 'good man' (F4). This was so common as to be usually abbreviated to 'VB' (*virum bonum*). The following expressions were also used to recommend candidates: 'excellent young man', 'honest young man' (F5), 'young man of integrity', 'outstanding youth', 'extremely honourable', 'worthy of public office', 'young man deserving every good', 'young man of blameless age', 'very deserving young man'. The Latin word *iuvenis* translated here as 'young man' actually meant anyone up to 45 years old, so we should not necessarily imagine a town council dominated by twenty-somethings. Occasionally, a more unusual and elaborate recommendation is made, with some even being composed in verse (F6–7). Only rarely do the notices actually allude to what we might call the candidate's manifesto (F8–9). The reference to good bread perhaps refers to

bread distribution already made by Polybius or to one promised after his election. A wall painting often misleadingly given the caption ‘baker’s shop’ apparently depicts a figure in a toga – possibly a candidate or magistrate – handing out loaves of bread from a platform (MANN inv. 9071). In addition to notices relating to votes for an individual, some notices are simply expressions of goodwill towards a candidate. For the recommendations made for one particular candidate, see further [F29–72](#).

F4 A ‘good man’, Republican era

I beg you to elect Publius Furius duumvir, a good man.

(*CIL* IV 67 = *ILS* 6398b)

F5 An ‘honest young man’

I ask you to elect Claudius Verus duumvir with judicial power, an honest young man.

(*CIL* IV 3741)

F6 A recommendation in verse

If integrity in life is thought to be of any use,
This man, Lucretius Fronto is worthy of great honour.

(*CIL* IV 6626 = *ILS* 6422b)

This appears next to [F23](#) and [F25](#).

F7 A candidate praised in verse

Gaius Cuspius for aedile.
If glory is to be given to someone who lives modestly,
To this young man ought the glory he deserves be given.

(*CIL* IV 7201)

F8 Good bread promised

I beg you to elect Gaius Julius Polybius aedile. He brings good bread.

(*CIL* IV 429 = *ILS* 6412e)

F9 Financial security guaranteed

Genialis asks for Bruttius Balbus as duumvir. He will preserve the treasury.

(*CIL* IV 3702 = *ILS* 6405)

F10 A provider of good games

Marcus Casellius Marcellus, a good aedile and great giver of games.

(*CIL* IV 4999)

NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING (F11–13)

One particular candidate during the Flavian period, Marcus Cerrinius Vatia, seems to have been the butt of ironic electioneering. These notices appear clustered together on one stretch of the ‘Street of the Augustales’. Ironic supporters of other candidates include ‘all the runaway slaves’ (*CIL* IV 7389) and dice-throwers (**F65**).

F11 A dozy campaign

All those asleep and Macerius ask for Vatia as aedile.

(*CIL* IV 575 = *ILS* 6418e)

F12 Suspect supporters

The little thieves ask for Vatia as aedile.

(*CIL* IV 576 = *ILS* 6418f)

F13 Intoxication breeds success?

The late drinkers all ask you to elect Marcus Cerrinius Vatia aedile. Florus and Fructus wrote this.

(*CIL* IV 581 = *ILS* 6418d)

TYPES OF SUPPORTERS (F14–28)

The humour of the examples above (**F11–13**) plays on the fact that many notices identify individuals or groups as a candidate's supporters. Individuals might include a candidate's clients (**F14**; see also **E8**) or freedmen (**F15**). Other supporters might be fellow candidates or fellow magistrates (**F16**). Sometimes, an electoral notice appears on the façade of the house where the supporter lives or works (**F17–19**). **F18** appeared to the left of the entrance to the inn run by the innkeeper Euxinus; for Euxinus and Amarantus, see further **H11–13**. The case of Suedius Clemens, the emperor's representative, whose name endorses the candidature of Marcus Epidius Sabinus, is an exceptional example of influence upon local politics wielded by an outsider (**F149–51**).

The most common type of group to recommend a candidate is a group of tradesmen. Their notices might be painted up outside their place of work, as is the case with the fullers' recommendations on the façade of the fullery of Stephanus (I.vi.7) (**F20**). A wide variety of tradesmen participated in expressing their opinions, and incidentally provides valuable insight into

Pompeii's commercial life (see [H82](#)). We find bread-bakers, carpenters, chicken-keepers, dyers, fruiterers, fullers, gold smiths, grape-pickers, mule-drivers, ointment sellers, and porters. Recommendations are also made by inhabitants of a particular district in the town, or by a candidate's neighbours ([F21–25](#)). Some candidates, however, boasted of the support of all citizens living in the town (both Pompeians and outsiders) or of the town council ([F26–27](#), [F149–50](#)). Other unusual groups include worshippers of Isis ([E7–8](#)), spectators at the games ([F28](#), on the external wall of the Large Palaestra, adjacent to the Amphitheatre) and fans of the actor Paris ([D81](#)). For an overview of the supporters of one particular candidate, see [F29–71](#).

INDIVIDUALS (F14–19)

F14 A client as supporter

Thalamus, his client, elects Publius Paquius Proculus duumvir with judicial power.

(*CIL* IV 933)

F15 A freedman supporter

Ceratus, freedman, asks for Publius Veditius Numm[ianus] as aedile.

(*CIL* IV 910)

F16 A colleague supporter

Julius Polybius, his colleague, elects Postumius [...].

(*CIL* IV 98)

F17 Family support outside House of Caecilius Iucundus (V.i.27)

We, Quintus and Sextus Caecilius Iucundus, ask for Ceius Secundus as duumvir.

(*CIL* IV 3433 = *ILS* 6404a)

F18 Inn-keeper's support, Inn of Euxinus (I.xi.10–11)

Euxinus asks you to elect Quintus Postumius and Marcus Cerrinius aediles, together with Justus. Hinnulus wrote this.

(*CIL* IV 9851)

F19 Support from Amarantus, Inn of Amarantus (I.ix.11)

Amarantus Pompeianus asks you to elect Quintus Postumius Proculus aedile.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS (F20)

F20 Support from Fullers, Fullery of Stephanus (I.vi.7)

The fullers all ask for Holconius Priscus as duumvir.

(CIL IV 7164)

TOWN DISTRICTS AND NEIGHBOURS (F21–25)

Four groups in electoral notices are probably the inhabitants of different districts: the *Forenses* (Forum-district: **F21**); the *Campanienses* (area next to the ‘Campanian Gate’, i.e. today's ‘Nolan Gate’: **F22**); the *Urbulanenses* (next to the ‘Urbulanian Gate’, i.e. today's ‘Sarno Gate’: **F23**); the *Salinienses* (around the ‘Salt Gate’, i.e. today's Herculaneum Gate; for its Oscan name see **B6: F24**).

F21 Forum-district supporters

The *Forenses* ask for [...]

(CIL IV 783)

F22 Support of the *Campanienses* (‘Campanian Gate district’)

The *Campanienses* ask for Marcus Epidius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 470 = ILS 6438a)

F23 Support of the *Urbulanenses* (‘Urbulanian Gate district’)

The *Urb<u>lanenses* ask you to elect Lucius Ceius Secundus duumvir, worthy of public office.

(CIL IV 7667)

This notice is next to **F6** and **F25**.

F24 Support of the ‘Salt Gate’ district

The *Salinienses* ask for Marcus Cerrinius as aedile.

F25 Support of neighbours

We neighbours ask for [Marcus] Lucretius Fronto as aedile.

(CIL IV 6625)

This is next to a verse notice in support of the same individual (F6).

LARGER GROUPS IN THE POPULATION (F26–28)

F26 Support from citizens and residents

We the town's citizens and residents ask for Gaius Ateius Capito as aedile.

(CIL IV 9918)

F27 Support from the people

The people ask for Lucius Popidius Secundus as aedile.

(CIL IV 1045)

F28 Support from spectators in the amphitheatre

The spectators in the amphitheatre ask for Holconius Priscus as duumvir with judicial power.

(CIL IV 7585)

The campaign of Helvius Sabinus, AD 79 (F29–72)

The candidature of Gnaeus Helvius Sabinus for aedile is one of the best attested, with over 100 electoral notices discovered. This and the fact that none of the notices concerning him seems to have been painted over by subsequent notices make it likely that he stood for election in AD 79. Helvius can therefore be taken as an example of the sorts of electoral notices written on the walls of Pompeii.

FINDSPOTS OF ELECTORAL NOTICES SUPPORTING HELVIUS SABINUS

F29 Findspots of electoral notices supporting Helvius Sabinus

See Figure 6.1.

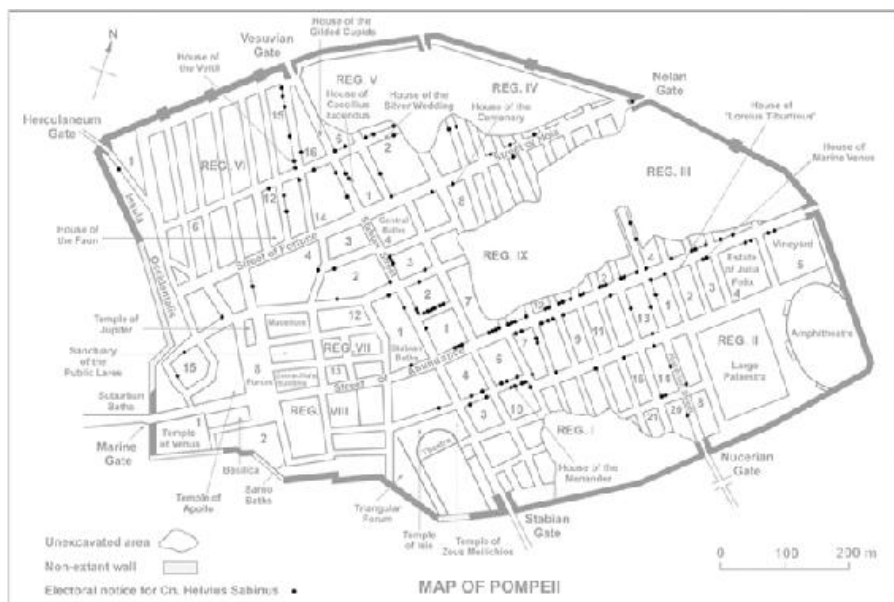


Figure 6.1 Findspots of electoral notices supporting Helvius Sabinus

This map shows the findspots of electoral notices in support of Helvius Sabinus. Not surprisingly, the notices occur most frequently along the busiest streets. The fact that fewest notices have been found in Regions VII and VIII may be explained partly by the fact that these areas, the first to be excavated, are the least accurately recorded. For example, two notices (**F45** and **F33**) were discovered and copied in 1814, but their findspots are recorded so vaguely that little more can be said about their original location than that they were somewhere on streets near the southern end of the Forum.

BASIC ELECTORAL NOTICES (F30)

The majority of electoral notices concerning him simply give his *nomen* (family name – Helvius), with or without his *praenomen* (first name – Gnaeus, in the standard abbreviation, Cn.) and *cognomen* (additional personal name or nickname – Sabinus.). The post he is running for – aedile, abbreviated to AED – may also be given. One or more standard phrases of endorsement of the candidate may also be included: most of these are so standard as to be given in abbreviated form: *V(irim) B(onum)* – a good man; *D(ignum) R(ei) P(ublicae)* – worthy of public office; *O(ro) V(os) F(aciatis)* – I beg you to elect. Thus, for example, ‘I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile, a good man, worthy of public office,’ is ‘CN HELVIUM SABINUM AED VB DRP OV F’.

The candidate's name appears in large letters (usually 20 centimetres high,

sometimes 60 centimetres). The endorsement, if there is one, is in smaller letters, on the line or two lines below. Because of the abbreviations used, the name of the candidate almost always takes up more room than the whole of the rest of the notice. For an example of an electoral notice, see [Plate 4.2](#).

The following gives the basic types of notices found in support of Sabinus, and their frequency.

F30 Types of electoral notices for Cn. Helvius Sabinus

Helvius for aedile (4)

Cn. Helvius for aedile (1)

Helvius Sabinus (2)

Cn. Helvius Sabinus (9)

Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile (7)

Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile, a good man. (1)

Cn. Helvius Sabinus for aedile, worthy of public office. (3)

I beg you to elect (Cn.) Helvius Sabinus aedile. (17)

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus, worthy of public office, aedile. (18)

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus, worthy of public office, a good man, aedile. (6)

I beg you to elect Helvius Sabinus, worthy of public office, aedile in charge of public roads and sacred buildings. (3)

Cn. H. S. (4)

Cn. H. S. aedile (6)

I beg you to elect Cn. H. S. aedile. (2)

ENDORSEMENTS OF HELVIUS SABINUS (F31–34)

On a few occasions, a less common phrase of endorsement is written out in full. The description of Helvius Sabinus as a young man (*iuvenis*) need not imply exceptional youth; see introductory notes to [F4–10](#).

F31 Notice on the estate of Julia Felix, Street of Abundance

Cn. Helvius Sabinus, an honest young man for aedile.

(CIL IV 1145)

F32 Notices at VI.xvi.38 and III.vi.1 (Street of Abundance)

Helvius Sabinus, an honest young man.

F33 Praise for Helvius Sabinus

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus, a thoroughly deserving young man, worthy of public office, aedile.

(CIL IV 706 = ILS 6420a)

F34 Helvius Sabinus for aedile

Cn. Helvius Sabinus, aedile for sacred matters.

(CIL IV 9859)

PERSONAL ENDORSEMENTS OF HELVIUS SABINUS (F35–59)

On other occasions, the endorsement is made more personal by including the name of a particular person or group. Sometimes, a person states his intention of making Helvius aedile (*FAC(it)* – he elects) (**F43**). In one case the past tense (*FECIT*) is used, which perhaps implies that Helvius was elected, though it may just mean that the person voted for him (**F35**). Endorsements also come from people who did not have the vote, for example, women (**F51**, **F53**, **F55–58**). Some of these simply ask people to vote for Helvius, but others use the endorsement *FAC(it)* as if they had the vote.

F35 Support from Balbus, IX.ii

Balbus elected Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile.

(CIL IV 935d)

F36 Support from Epidius, III.iv.3, Street of Abundance

Epidius with his household want and support Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 7708)

F37 Support from Crescens, V.ii west side

Crescens asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 3450)

F38 Support from Pacuvius, III.i.2, Street of Abundance

Pacuvius eagerly asks for Cn. Helvius as aedile.

(CIL IV 7595)

F39 Thyrsus' vote, IX.ii.25–27

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile, worthy of public office.
Thyrsus votes for him.

(CIL IV 3640)

F40 Support from Astylus, II.v.2, Street of Abundance

I beg you to elect Helvius Sabinus aedile. Astylus wants it.

(CIL IV 7525)

F41 Support from Restitutus, VI.xv.1

[...] Restitutus asks for [...] Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 3522)

F42 Support from Vesonius Primus, VII.i.7/8, Street of Abundance

Vesonius Primus asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus, worthy of public office, as aedile.

(CIL IV 3477)

F43 Support from Primus, VI.xii.3–4

Primus and his household elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile.

(CIL IV 3482)

F44 Support from the Poppaei, IX.v.11, Nolan Street

The Poppaei ask for Helvius Sabinus to be elected aedile.

(CIL IV 357)

F45 Support from the Popidii

The Popidii ask for Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 705)

F46 Support from Equitius, I.xiv.11

Equitius with his household asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile, worthy of public office.

(GC 10)

F47 Support from Infantio, I.vi.15

Infantio with his household asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

F48 Support from Infantio, I.x.4

Infantio desires Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 7340)

**F49 Support from Amandio, I.vii.1,
Street of Abundance**

Amandio with his household asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile, worthy of public office.

(CIL IV 7213)

F50 Support from Porcellus, I.xiv.7

Porcellus with his household asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile, worthy of public office.

(CIL IV 9919)

**F51 Support from Caprasia, IX.ii.9–10,
Stabian Street**

We ask for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile. Caprasia votes for him.

(CIL IV 923)

**F52 Individuals' support, II.iv.12,
Nucerian Street**

Biri(us) with Biria ask you to elect Helvius Sabinus aedile, a good man, worthy of public office: Onomastus, vote for him eagerly.

(CIL IV 9885)

**F53 Support from Parthope and Rufinus, V.i.17/18,
Stabian Street**

Parthope and Rufinus ask for Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 3403)

**F54 Request for support by Pucta, III iv F,
Nucerian Street**

Martialis, Pucta asks you to elect Helvius Sabinus aedile, worthy of public office.

(GC 35)

**F55 Support from Sodala, III iv E,
Nucerian Street**

Sodala asks for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(GC 27)

**F56 Support from Iunia
(in Naples Museum, findspot unknown)**

Iunia asks for you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile.

(CIL IV 1168)

**F57 Request for support by Aegle, IX.xi.1,
Street of Abundance**

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile, worthy of public office. Aegle asks this.

(CIL IV 7886)

**F58 Request for support by Maria, IX.xi.2,
Street of Abundance**

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile, worthy of public office. Maria asks this.

(CIL IV 7866)

**F59 Exchange of votes, III.v.1,
Street of Abundance**

Loreius, vote for Cn. Helvius Sabinus, an honest man, as aedile, and he will vote for you.

(CIL IV 7733)

**ENDORSEMENTS BY GROUPS
(F60–65)**

On other occasions, the endorsement apparently comes from a group; see also **E7** for support from the worshippers of Isis. For the *Urbulanenses* (**F61**), see **F23**. Helvius Sabinus also seems to have fallen victim to negative campaigning (see also **F11–13**), being endorsed by dice-throwers. The *caudati* of Masculus (CIL IV 7747), who supported him remain unidentifiable.

F60 Support from the millers, I.viii.7

The millers ask for and desire Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile, together with his

neighbours.

(CIL IV 7273)

**F61 Support from the *Urbulanenses*
(‘Urbulanian Gate district’), III.vi.1**

The *Urbulane*<n>*ses* ask for Cn. Helvius Sabinus as aedile.

(CIL IV 7747)

F62 Support from the chicken keepers, VI.xii.7

Hermes with the chicken keepers asks for Cn. Helvius as aedile.

(CIL IV 241)

**F63 Support from his neighbours, IX.iii.30,
Stabian Street**

His neighbours elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile.

(CIL IV 852)

**F64 Request for support from his neighbours,
IX.xiii.1**

His neighbours ask for Cn. Helvius Sabinus, an honest man, as aedile.

(CIL IV 7928)

**F65 Support of dubious value from the dice-throwers,
VI.xiv.28**

The dice-throwers ask for Cn. Helvius Sabinus.

(CIL IV 3435)

MULTIPLE ELECTION NOTICES (F66–70)

Finally, a couple of electoral notices exist in which other candidates for aedile or duumvir are also recommended. This does not imply that Helvius stood for election on a ‘joint ticket’ with any other candidate; indeed, three different duumviral candidates are mentioned with Helvius.

**F66 Support for Helvius Sabinus, Suettius, Epidius,
middle section of Nolan Street, north side**

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus, worthy of public office, aedile, and Suettius and Epidius duumvirs with judicial power.

(CIL IV 447)

**F67 Support for Helvius Sabinus and
Ceius Secundus, Liv**

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus aedile and L. Ceius Secundus duumvir,
Recepta and also Thalamus.

(*CIL* IV 1083)

**F68 Support for Ceius Secundus and Sabinus,
I.xvii.3**

I beg you to elect L. C. Secundus duumvir and Sabinus aedile, an honest man.

(GC 11)

**F69 Support for Ceius and Helvius Sabinus,
I.xiv.11**

Equitius asks you to elect Ceius duumvir and Helvius Sabinus aedile.

(GC 4)

**F70 Support for Helvius Sabinus and Samellius
Modestus, V.iii.11 + V.iv.c**

I beg you to elect Cn. Helvius Sabinus and M. Samellius Modestus aediles,
worthy of public office.

(*CIL* IV 6616 + 6628)

OTHER NOTICES (F71–72)

The Latin word *dormis* (literally ‘you sleep’ or ‘do you sleep?’) appears on several electoral notices, including one for Helvius, **F71**. It seems to imply that someone 5111 should wake up and vote for a candidate. **F72** almost certainly is a mistake by the writer: Marcus Epidius Sabinus was a candidate for duumvir in the same year as Helvius Sabinus was candidate for aedile, which presumably confused the writer of the notice.

**F71 A rallying-call to voters,
I.iv. south side**

Wake up and vote for Helvius Sabinus for aedile.

(*CIL* IV 2993t)

F72 An erroneous notice, V.vi.b/c

Cn. Helvius Sabinus for [duum]vir.

(*CIL* IV 7034)

ACCLAMATION AFTER AN ELECTION (F73)

F73 Acclamation after an election, Amphitheatre

All Pompeians have elected Publius <P>aquius Proculus duumvir with judicial power, worthy of public office.

(CIL IV 1122 = ILS 6406a)

This notice, on an internal wall of the Amphitheatre, appears to celebrate the recent election of Paquius Proculus.

THE NOTICE-WRITERS (F74–80)

Most of the electoral notices were the work of the same specialist signwriters who produced the notices for games (D13–30, D34–35). Signwriters worked in teams at night. One team appears to have consisted of at least four men (F74; see also F13). (For night-time, see D17 and F75.) The team members subdivided the tasks according to individual expertise, with, for example, one man preparing the background of whitewash and another painting the lettering itself. Sometimes they signed a notice or added their support for a candidate. Some twenty-seven sign-writers have been identified. In one case, the signwriter was also a fuller (F76); his comment appears beside a notice endorsing Marcus Pupius Rufus. See also F18.

TEAMWORK (F74–77)

F74 A team of notice-writers

[...] asks for Marcus Cerrinius Vatia as aedile, worthy of public office [...]. Infantio wrote this with Florus and Fructus and Sabinus here and everywhere.

(CIL IV 230)

F75 An appeal for steady support

Lantern carrier, hold the ladder.

(CIL IV 7621)

F76 Collaboration between a fuller and a notice-writer

The fuller Mustius elects and whitewashes. Unico writes, without the rest of the team on the *Nones*.

(CIL IV 3529 = ILS 6408b)

F77 A whitewasher leaves his name

I beg you elect Publius Paquius Proculus duumvir, a good man, worthy of public office; Aulus Vettius Caprasius Felix duumvir, a good man, worthy of public office; they are worthy. I beg you to elect Quintus Marius [Rufus], Marcus Epidius Sabinus aediles in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings; they are worthy [...]. Onesimus was the whitewasher.

(*CIL* IV 222 = *ILS* 6434)

THE NOTICE-WRITER AEMILIUS CELER (F78–80)

One notice-writer, Aemilius Celer, identifies himself on both types of notices (**D17** and **F78–79**), which cluster around IX.viii, near where he lived. His name shows that he was a citizen; he even added his own voice as a neighbour in one notice supporting a candidate for duumvir (**F79**). His name also appears three times (*CIL* IV 3790) in IX.ix.[a], a house near where several of his notices are found (**F80**).

F78 Notice-writer Aemilius Celer, IX.viii.4

Neighbours beg you to elect Tiberius Claudius Verus [duumvir] with judicial power. Aemilius Celer wrote this.

(*CIL* IV 3820 = *ILS* 6407b)

F79 Aemilius Celer protects his notice, IX.vii.8

Neighbours beg you to elect Lucius Statius Receptus duumvir with judicial power, a worthy man. Aemilius Celer wrote this, a neighbour. You jealous one who destroys this, may you fall ill.

(*CIL* IV 3775 = *ILS* 6409)

F80 Aemilius Celer's residence, IX.ix.[a]

Aemilius Celer lives here.

(*CIL* IV 3794)

ELECTIONEERING BEYOND POMPEII (F81–85)

The candidature of L. Munatius Caeserninus for the office of quinquennial at nearby Nuceria was promoted in notices painted on the façades of several tombs outside the Nucerian Gate of Pompeii. One notice even reminds Nucerian voters of the games he has already provided for them (**F82**).

F81 A candidate at Nuceria

I beg you to elect Lucius Munatius Caeserninus quinquennial duumvir at Nuceria, a good man.

(*CIL* IV 3875 = *ILS* 6445c and *AE* (1990) 176)

F82 A candidate's games

Lucius Munatius Caeserninus for quinquennial, Nucerians; you have watched the boxers.

(*CIL* IV 9939)

F83 Support for L. Munatius and Magius Celer

I beg you to elect Lucius Munatius quinquennial and [Lucius] Magius Celer duumvir, good men.

(*CIL* IV 9942)

F84 Support requested from the Nucerians

I beg you to elect [Lucius Munatius C]ae[se]rnius quinquennial, Nucerians.

(*CIL* IV 9959)

F85 An electoral notice at Herculaneum?

Marcus Caecilius Potitus quaestor [...].

AE (1987) 262 = Pagano (1987)

This is the only possible electoral notice found so far at Herculaneum. It is painted in red lettering (10–12 centimetres high) on the plaster of a rectangular brick pilaster, which forms part of the portico in front of a building along the northern side of decumanus maximus, opposite the entrance to the ‘House of the Bicentenary’. Several things raise doubts as to what type of text it is: the writing style is very different from electoral notices at Pompeii; it lacks any of the usual electoral formulae (but admittedly is incomplete); and it is the only reference to the office of *quaestor* at Herculaneum.

MAGISTERIAL DUTIES (F86–89)

In many respects the magistrates of the Roman colony of Pompeii continued the administrative duties of the Oscan magistrates who preceded them (**A11–15**, **A20–21**, **A27**, **A29**; compare **A18** for Herculaneum). The town's duumvirs and aediles between them were responsible for civic finances, public religion (**E5**, **E12**, **E15**, **E41–43**, **E50**), and public space (**D1–3**, **D5**). A decree of the council would authorize the duumvirs in office to negotiate a contract for building-work, which they were then responsible for seeing to its satisfactory

completion (B9–11, B13, D122, E1). For the obligation of magistrates to pay for building-work or for games during their year in office, see B13, D2–5, D61. An inscription found outside the Stabian Gate at Pompeii (F86) records road-building of duumvirs outside the town itself, into Pompeii's territory. For the supervision of weights and measures, see H98. The aediles supervised the markets; for their control of stalls around the Amphitheatre, see H99. At Herculaneum, we glimpse fascinating insights into particular concerns with the regulation of public space, with the aediles fighting what looks like a tough battle against the insanitary dumping of waste near the town's water-distribution point (F87), and the town council appointing the Marci Remmii, father and son, to regulate the public weights and marketplace (F88). A long list of names, once thought to record the names of the *Augustales* in Herculaneum, is now considered more likely to be a list of citizen voters in the town (F89), drawn up as part of the town's census procedures.

F86 Paving the road beyond the walls of Pompeii

Lucius Avianius Flaccus Pontianus, son of Lucius, of the Menenian voting-tribe, and Quintus Spedius Firmus, son of Quintus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, duumvirs with judicial power, paved the road at their own expense from the milestone to the station of the carriage-drivers, where it is in Pompeii's territory.

(CIL X 1064 = ILS 5382)

F87 An edict against the dumping of waste at Herculaneum, AD 60/70

Marcus Alficius Paulus, aedile (declares): if any dung should be inclined to fall down upon this place, it should be warned not to lie there. If anyone provides intelligence contrary to this, freeborn are to pay a fine of [*], slaves are to be punished by being beaten on their behinds.

(CIL IV 10488; AE (1960) 276; AE (1962) 234)

This notice is painted in black on the wall of the water distribution point between *cardo* IV and the *decumanus maximus*. Its text covered over an earlier similar edict of the town's chief magistrates, M. Rufellius Robia and A. Tetteius Severus from the AD 50s (CIL IV 10489 = AE (2006) 300). This suggests that the insanitary dumping of waste was a continuing problem, which two sets of magistrates had to tackle in turn. The level of punishment envisaged for those guilty of leaving excrement/manure in this place depends upon their social status; whereas freeborn individuals are required to pay a fine (the exact amount has not been preserved), slaves are to suffer corporal punishment. See also Camodeca 2006b: 15–16. There are still some uncertainties over reading the texts of these two overlaid inscriptions, so the above translation should be taken as provisional.

F88 Decree of the local town council at Herculaneum concerning M. Remmii Rufus senior and junior

On 28 February, everyone was present at the drafting in the council's meeting place; seeing as the following proposal had been made – that the Marci Remmii Rufi, father and son, duumvirs for the second time at their own expense had constructed weights and a *chalcidicum* and *schola* in accordance with the splendour of the town; that it was befitting that this be looked after at public expense – concerning this matter, this council decided as follows: since the Marci Remmii, father and son, duumvirs for the second time, had been so generous in performing their public duties that their monuments are for the adornment of the town, and were so diligent that they took steps against faults in the weights, and also provided this in perpetuity, the town councillors decided that the Marci Remmii Rufi, father and son, during their lifetimes, be given management of their weights and *schola* and *chalcidicum* which they had themselves constructed, and that they should put in charge of this business slaves who have been and will be bought for this purpose, and that this should not be taken away from them without a decree of the town councillors, and that thanks be given publicly to the Marci Remmii Rufi, father and son, because they undertook a second term in office not because of their ambition or boastfulness but made a contribution for the adornment and beauty of the town.

(CIL X 1453 = ILS 5616)

This marble plaque (now lost) contains the text of a decree of the local council, dating from the triumphal/Augustan era. An honorific statue base set up by the townsfolk to M. Remmii Rufus senior has also been found (CIL X 1455).

F89 A list of citizen-voters at Herculaneum?

Centuria Veneria

Marcus Sittius Beryllus freedman of Marcus
Gnaeus Nassius Philet[us] freedman of Gnaeus
Quintus Lollius Logism[us] freedman of Quintus
Quintus Lollius Dyma freedman of Quintus
Gaius Numitorius Eubu[us] freedman of Gaius
Marcus Burrius Euphem[us] freedman of Marcus
Quintus Iunius Micc[us] freedman of Quintus
Publius Lurius Thesm[us] freedman of Publius
Lucius Atinius Crin[us] freedman of Lucius
Sextus Ateleius Merc[us] freedman of Sextus
Gaius Volasenna Herm[us] freedman of Gaius

Marcus Livius Alcim[us] freedman of Marcus
Marcus Vipsanius Ap[?] freedman of Marcus
Publius Brinnius freedman of Publius
Lucius Iulius Tro[?] freedman of a woman
Gaius Volasenna Vi[?] freedman of a woman
Marcus Trevius Eu[?] freedman of Marcus

(CIL X 1403a (middle column))

A large number of marble fragments inscribed with lists of male names in the nominative case have been found in the area of the crossroads between the *decumanus maximus* and *III cardo* at Herculaneum (compare also *AE* (1978) 119). It seems most likely that they were originally displayed in the *basilica Noniana*. For many years, this list was thought to preserve a membership list of the *Augustales*, but the quantity of names – originally in the region of well over 1,000 – rules out this interpretation. Instead, it is now suggested that the list includes the names of citizen voters in the town, a list which it was the responsibility of the town's magistrates to draw up. The list itself was modified over time, and names were added to it; in addition, another marble plaque was also found with a similar text, but this time in ink only. This suggests that keeping the list up to date was an important concern. This entry gives a sample of one part of the list, to illustrate its typical content and format. At the heading of the column is an indication of the local voting-tribe to which these individuals belong (*centuria Veneria*). The lists may record names in hierarchical order, with freeborn citizens appearing with their full three names (*tria nomina*) under the heading *centuria Cl(udia) Ingen(uorum)* together with their filiation and voting-tribe; Junian Latins who have been promoted to full citizenship, listed by *tria nomina* only (on which see below, introductory note to [G1–G4](#)); and (at the bottom of the social ranking) freedmen, with their freed status made explicit, as above (but see Mouritsen (2007) for doubts about this rigid division).

CAREERS (F90–109)

UNDER-AGE TOWN COUNCILLORS (F90–91)

Numerius Popidius Celsinus was appointed to the town council when only 6 years old in return for his restoration of the Temple of Isis, probably after the earthquake in AD 62 ([C5](#)). It is likely that his father, Popidius Ampliatus, paid for the reconstruction in his son's name since he himself, as a freedman, was excluded from membership of the town council. Nevertheless, it is now apparent that the co-option of the child Celsinus was not just a tactic to deal with a family whose adult member was excluded from the council. The recent discovery of the family tomb of the Lucretii Valentes shows that at least two

other children were made town councillors (**D16**, **F90**). Unlike Popidius Celsinus, Iustus belonged to one of the most prominent families of the Neronian and Flavian periods. Marcus Alleius Libella, who was only seventeen at the time of his death, had also already been made a town councillor too (**F91**).

F90 D. Lucretius Iustus, councillor by the age of 13

To Decimus Lucretius Iustus, son of Decimus, of the Menenian voting-tribe. Nominated onto the town council free of charge. Lived for 13 years.

(*AE* (1994) 395)

This epitaph is inscribed upon a herm, found within the family's burial enclosure just outside Pompeii, in the modern district of Scafati. Lucretius Iustus belonged to a family that was prominent in the town from Neronian times onwards (see also D1620, **D41**).

F91 A teenager as town councillor

To Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, father, aedile, duumvir, prefect, quinquennial; and to Marcus Alleius Libella, son, town councillor, (who) lived 17 years; a place for the monument was given publicly; Alleia Decimilla, daughter of Marcus, public priestess of Ceres, saw to this being done for her husband and son.

(*CIL* X 1036 = *ILS* 6365)

A large altar-tomb outside the Herculaneum Gate illustrates the problems encountered by the elite in ensuring their family's survival. This tomb was set up by Alleia Decimilla to her husband and son. Marcus Alleius Luccius Libella, quinquennial in AD 25/6 (*CIL* X 896), had been adopted by a Marcus Alleius, and had married his daughter Alleia Decimilla.

PREMATURE DEATHS (F92)

F92 Gaius Vestorius Priscus, aedile

To Gaius Vestorius Priscus, aedile. He lived 22 years. His burial place was granted along with 2,000 sesterces for his funeral by decree of the town councillors. Mulvia Prisca, his mother, set this up at [her own] expense.

(*AE* (1913) 70)

The tomb of Gaius Vestorius Priscus is located just outside the Vesuvian Gate. His epitaph appears on an eye-catching tomb, which is set inside a rectangular enclosure, and topped by an altar. Inside the enclosure, the tomb's walls display scenes in stucco and painting. These include a table covered with

silver banqueting vessels and a combat between a pair of gladiators (possibly alluding to games presented by Vestorius). Vestorius himself perhaps features in another scene opposite the tomb's entrance, which would have greeted visitors to the tomb. This shows a man entering a room, where there are writing implements and money on tables, and slippers beneath a couch. A smaller figure, probably a slave, stands in attendance to one side. Elsewhere, a seated figure raised up on a podium, surrounded by standing figures below, may depict Vestorius executing some of his public duties as aedile. He was probably a candidate for the post of aedile in AD 75/6. Given the public honours granted to Vestorius after his death, it seems likely that he died while holding office as aedile.

AN OUTSTANDING CAREER AT POMPEII – MARCUS HOLCONIUS RUFUS (F93)

Marcus Holconius Rufus enjoyed a long and prominent career in public life, from the 20s BC to the early first century AD, accumulating an unparalleled sequence of magistracies, and being selected as one of the few men known to have been the colony's patron. This was an important role, since the task of a patron was to protect the town's interests at Rome. Formally selected by the town council, patrons could be prominent locals or important figures at Rome, even members of the imperial family. Other patrons of Pompeii included Publius Sulla (nephew of the dictator Sulla, charged with establishing the new colony) (B19); Marcellus, the emperor Augustus' nephew and son-in-law (F135); and an otherwise unknown Sallustius (F106).

Holconius Rufus was of equestrian rank, but his statue (MANN inv. 6233) appropriated status symbols more correctly belonging to others. His statue shows him in military dress, complete with tunic, breastplate and cloak; this alludes to his post of military tribune, even though he did not actually serve in the army in this role. He is depicted wearing the sandals of a senator, and the design on his breastplate imitates that of the famous cult statue of Mars the Avenger in the Forum of Augustus in Rome. Colouring was visible when the statue was first found in 1853; his tunic was white, edged with yellow, his cloak red and shoes black. The tree trunk supporting the statue was green. His hair, irises and eyebrows were also coloured. The statue stood on an inscribed base just outside the main entrance to the Stabian Baths, at the foot of the pillar of a large arch, which punctuated a major crossroads on the Street of Abundance. This arch is thought to have honoured other members of his family too, including a Holconia. For his generosity and honours in the Large Theatre, see D54, D56–57. On sources for his wealth, see H79.

Other Holconii were also prominent in public life, and not just his partner in public works, Marcus Holconius Celer (D54, D58, F152). Further generations continued to prosper: Marcus Holconius Gellius was duumvir

under Tiberius (*CIL* X 895); Marcus Holconius Macer stood in for the emperor himself, as prefect with judicial powers under Caligula (*CIL* X 904); and Marcus Holconius Priscus was a candidate for election as aedile and then as duumvir during the last years of the town (**F20**, **F28**).

F93a Statue of Marcus Holconius Rufus

See [Plate 6.1](#).

F93b Statue base for Marcus Holconius Rufus

To Marcus Holconius Rufus, son of Marcus, military tribune by popular demand, duumvir with judicial power five times, quinquennial twice, priest of Augustus Caesar, and patron of the colony.

(*CIL* X 830 = *ILS* 6361b)

AN OUTSTANDING PUBLIC FIGURE AT HERCULANEUM: M. NONIUS BALBUS (F94–105)

M. Nonius Balbus appears to have originated from nearby Nuceria, but to have chosen Herculaneum as his place of residence. He enjoyed a distinguished career as a Roman senator, being elected praetor (the next most important magistrate after a consul) and serving as proconsular Roman governor of Crete during the Augustan era. He was a generous benefactor towards Herculaneum, and in return received at least a dozen statues during his lifetime, as well as outstanding public honours after his death. The *basilica Noniana* (in *insula* VII, at the corner between *cardo* III and the *decumanus maximus*), which he gave to the town and which included a statue gallery of his family, continued to be named after him, appearing on a wax tablet of AD 61. His descendants and freedmen continue to be prominent in the inscriptions of Herculaneum up until the time of the eruption. Understanding of his career has been bedevilled until recently by confusion over his statue types. Two portrait-types of Nonius Balbus, one depicting a youth and the other a mature man, have tended to be labelled as the proconsul himself and his son, but recent detective work in the archives and on site now shows clearly that all the known portraits are of a single individual, the proconsul, but that unusually he was represented in both youthful and mature styles. In addition to the statues and inscriptions listed below, a crucial key to deciphering his honours is an impression of a portrait head left in the volcanic material behind the stage in the theatre, which was associated with a heroic nude statue (MANN inv. 6102). After his death, a funerary altar was set up in his honour on the terrace outside the Suburban Baths, but this location does not necessarily mean that we should also identify Nonius Balbus as the founder of those baths as well.

The Suburban Baths in their current state are in fact Flavian in date, and were perhaps preceded by a smallscale complex during the Augustan era. Claims of a direct link between the baths of the Augustan era and the House of Telephus, which is thought to have belonged to Nonius Balbus, are rather unconvincing.



Plate 6.1 Statue of Marcus Holconius Rufus

F94 Construction of basilica, gates and wall

Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, proconsul, constructed the basilica, gates, wall at his own expense.

(CIL X 1425)

This inscription is carved upon a large architrave.

F95a Marble equestrian statue of Nonius Balbus

See [Plate 6.2](#).

F95b

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, the people of Herculanenum.

(*CIL* X 1426 = *ILS* 896)

This marble equestrian statue depicting Nonius Balbus in military dress was set up by the *Herculanenses*, possibly in the town's Forum. Compare [D66](#) for a similar inscription in his honour found in the theatre.

F96 Honoured by the Nucerians

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, proconsul, the Nucerians his fellow townsfolk.

(*CIL* X 1429 = *ILS* 896a)

Another marble equestrian statue depicting Nonius Balbus in military dress (MANN inv. 6211) was set up by the people of Nuceria. It was found headless, and a mature portrait head was then added by mistake. It was possibly originally on display in the town's Forum.



Plate 6.2 Marble equestrian statue of Nonius Balbus (MANN inv. 6104)

F97 Honoured as patron by Crete

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, proconsul, the community of the people of Crete to their patron.

(*CIL* X 1430)

This inscription accompanied a bronze equestrian statue, of which only fragments were recovered, possibly from the town's Forum.

F98 Honoured by Gortyn

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, the people of Gortyn, having made a collection.

(*CIL* X 1434)

Inscriptions show that Nonius Balbus was honoured after his governorship of Crete by the towns of Gortyn and Cnossus (*CIL* X 1433) as well as by the Cretans as a whole (*CIL* X 1431–32).

F99 Honoured in the *basilica Noniana*

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 1428)

This marble togate statue (MANN inv. 6167) was found in the *basilica Noniana*, with other family members.

F100 His father honoured in the *basilica Noniana*

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, father, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 1439)

This was found with a togate statue (MANN inv. 6246) that was lacking its head.

F101 His mother honoured in the *basilica Noniana*

To Viciria Archais, daughter of Aulus, mother of Balbus, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 1440)

This was found with a female statue, MANN inv. 6168.

F102 His wife honoured

To Volasennia Tertia, daughter of Gaius, wife of Balbus. The town councillors and people of Herculaneum.

(*CIL* X 1435)

Two other inscriptions also honour Volasennia Tertia (*CIL* X 1436–37).

F103 A freedman honoured

To Marcus Nonius Eutychus Marcianus, freedman of Balbus, a place of burial by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 1471)

F104 Posthumous honours decreed for Nonius Balbus

Seeing as Marcus Ofillius Celer, duumvir for the second time, made the statement that it was conducive to the town's dignity to act in response to the

public service of Marcus Nonius Balbus, they decreed on this matter as follows: Marcus Nonius Balbus, for as long as he lived here, displayed a father's spirit together with the utmost generosity to individuals and everyone alike. Therefore it pleases the town councillors that an equestrian statue be set up to him in the most frequented place out of public funds and that it be inscribed: 'To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, praetor, proconsul, patron. The whole governing body of the people of Herculaneum (set this up) on account of his public service'; and also in the same place, where his ashes have been gathered together, that a marble altar be made and set up and publicly inscribed: 'To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus'; and that a procession proceed from this place at the festival of the dead, and that one day be added in his honour to the athletic games, which had usually occurred, and that when shows are performed in the theatre, his seat be placed there. They decreed.

(*AE* (1976) 144)

After his death, a funerary altar was set up in honour of Nonius Balbus on the terrace outside the Suburban Baths, and his ashes were interred inside it. It was inscribed with this decree of the town council, which outlines further honours given to him after his death. Near the altar was a corseleted marble statue set up by one of his freedmen (**F105**).

F105a Statue and altar of Nonius Balbus outside the Suburban Baths (inv. 2578/77875)

See *Plate 6.3*.

F105b

To Marcus Nonius Balbus, son of Marcus, praetor, proconsul, Marcus Nonius Volusius [...].

(*AE* (1980) 249)

This statue on its inscribed base was set up outside the Suburban Baths by an individual who was most probably his freedman. Parts of the marble statue (its head, left foot and part of the base) were found in 1942 on the terrace outside the Baths, but the left side of the statue's body and other fragments were only discovered in 1981 on the beach underneath the terrace. It is unknown when the statue was set up; it may have been dedicated while Nonius Balbus was still alive, with the funerary altar being added alongside it after his death.



Plate 6.3 Statue and altar of Nonius Balbus outside the Suburban Baths (inv. 2578/77875)

STATUES IN POMPEII'S FORUM (F106–09)

The most important area in the town where honorific statues were placed was the Forum, the centre of civic life. The size and shape of the bases indicate whether they originally supported an equestrian or pedestrian statue. Forty-one bases survive for standing statues and sixteen for equestrian statues, but few of these preserve their inscriptions. In fact, of these fifty-seven bases we can only identify with any certainty six members of the local elite who were honoured with a statue (or in the case of Marcus Lucretius Rufus with two statues). Some of these bases may have originally displayed honorific statues of members of the imperial family. (For the equestrian statue of a Lucretius Valens, possibly also set up in the Forum, see [D16](#).) For statues of the Cuspii Pansae, father and son, see [D6–9](#). The archaeological evidence from Herculaneum is too uncertain for us to know for sure which of the many public honorific statues attested by inscriptions from the site were originally displayed in the town's Forum.

F106 A patron's equestrian statue

To Quintus Sallustius, son of Publius, duumvir with judicial power, quinquennial, patron. By decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 792)

F107 A commercial success

To Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, duumvir with judicial power. The town councillors voted for him a site for his monument, 2,000 sesterces for his funeral, and an equestrian statue to be set up in the Forum. His father, Scaurus, dedicated this to his son.

(*CIL* X 1024 = *ILS* 6366)

This epitaph reveals that Aulus Umbricius Scaurus the younger had been granted an equestrian statue in the Forum, of which no trace has been found. The inscription has been attached to the wrong tomb since 1813, after it was found in pieces in the street in front of the line of tombs outside the Herculaneum Gate. For this family's fish-sauce business, see [H38–46](#).

F108 M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus honoured

To Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, duumvir three times, quinquennial, priest, military tribune by popular demand, staff officer. Marcus Pilonius Rufus (set this up).

(*CIL* X 788 = *ILS* 6363b)

This inscribed statue base supported a pedestrian statue set up to honour Marcus Lucretius, probably during the Augustan period. The dedicatee, M. Pilonius Rufus, was a member of the original family of M. Lucretius, who had been adopted out of it, and was perhaps a bid to gain prestige for his family by reminding people of its association with this prestigious magistrate.

F109 M. Lucretius Decidianus Rufus honoured posthumously

To Marcus Lucretius Decidianus Rufus, duumvir three times, quinquennial, priest, military tribune by popular demand, staff officer. By decree of the town councillors after his death.

(*CIL* X 789 = *ILS* 6363c)

This is a similar statue base to [F108](#), but represents a higher form of honour, since it was set up by the town council.

PUBLIC TOMBS HONOURING LEADING FAMILIES (F110–14)

F110 Public burial at Herculaneum

By decree of the town councillors. Place for burial given publicly to Lucius Ausidius Montanus, son of Lucius, of the Horatian voting-tribe, on the staff of

This is one of the few epitaphs to have emerged at Herculaneum (compare [F103](#)), and honours an individual who served on the staff of C. Calvisius Sabinus on his tour of duty as provincial governor (expressed here by the technical term, *comes*). There were two prominent senators and consuls by the name of C. Calvisius Sabinus during the late Republic/Augustan era (consuls in 39 BC and 4 BC), so it is unclear exactly which one is mentioned here. L. Ausidius Montanus was not local to Herculaneum, as shown by his voting-tribe affiliation, which in fact he shares with Calvisius Sabinus.

F111 Duumvir honoured outside the Stabian Gate, Pompeii

To Gnaeus Clovatus, son of Gnaeus, duumvir with judicial power, military tribune; [burial] place [given in accordance with a decree of the town councillors].

(CIL X 1065)

This funerary monument is a variation on the seat-type of tomb, being rectilinear in plan rather than semicircular. A large marble relief was found with it, depicting a procession, gladiatorial games and beast hunts. For other public burials outside the Stabian Gate, see [E46](#) and *EE* VIII no.318.

F112 A duumvir's wife honoured outside the Nolan Gate, Pompeii

Numerius Herennius Celsus, son of Numerius, of the Menenian voting-tribe, duumvir with judicial power twice, staff officer; to Aesquillia Polla, daughter of Gaius, his wife. She lived 22 years; a burial place was given publicly by decree of the town councillors.

(*AE* (1911) 71)

This tomb is Tiberian/Claudian in date. In the middle at the back of the semicircular seat is a column with an Ionic capital, supporting a marble vase. Compare *NSc* (1910) 405 and *AE* (1913) 71 for public burials outside the Vesuvian Gate for Arellia Tertulla, wife of Veius Fronto and for Septumia, daughter of Lucius.

F113 An aedile honoured outside the Herculaneum Gate, Pompeii

To Titus Terentius Felix Maior, son of Titus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, aedile. To him publicly a place given and 2,000 sesterces. Fabia Sabina,

daughter of Probus, his wife.

(*CIL* X 1019 (tomb 2 right))

A Titus Terentius Felix appears as a witness in Tablet 80 from the Iucundus archive (*CIL* IV 3340.80, undatable). A glass urn was found underneath a small altar to the left of the entrance to his tomb enclosure. Nearby were the urns of other family members.

F114 Commemoration of a duumvir, outside the Nolan Gate, Pompeii

To Marcus Obellius Firmus, son of Marcus, aedile, duumvir with judicial power. The town councillors decreed him a burial place and 5,000 sesterces for his funeral; the inhabitants of the country district decreed him 30 pounds of frankincense and a shield, and their attendants 1,000 sesterces for perfumes, and a shield.

(De Franciscis (1976) 246)

The tomb of Marcus Obellius Firmus was discovered in 1975. The recent date of its excavation has ensured a detailed examination of the burial as a whole, not just of the tomb's architecture and inscriptions. It consists of a rectangular enclosure around the burial-place, which is marked by an uninscribed herm. Fragments of a light-blue cinerary jar with handles and lid were uncovered c.20 centimetres beneath the surface. A terracotta pipe for libations led from the ground surface beside the herm to the subsoil next to the urn. This contained the remains of the funerary pyre, not just ash, but also fragments of half-burned decorative bone, possibly from the funerary couch, which had been burned together with the body. The exterior façade of the tomb's enclosure displays several painted inscriptions and graffiti, including an announcement of games. The funerary inscription is high up in the centre, on the front of the tomb. The grant of 5,000 sesterces is significantly higher than the sum of 2,000 found mentioned in other funerary inscriptions. See [F152–55](#) for comment on the inhabitants of the country district.

***AUGUSTALES* (F115–31)**

Traditionally, *Augustales* have been regarded as priests involved in emperor worship. Our knowledge of *Augustales* is, however, derived almost exclusively from epigraphy and archaeology, which means that their exact role in Pompeii and Herculaneum (and elsewhere) is disputed. It is possible that *Augustales* were not always primarily concerned with emperor worship, but were a status group below the level of the town's elite (compare [E30](#)). The position of *Augustalis* was granted to both freedmen and freeborn. They had to pay an entrance fee to the public treasury on joining the group and might

act as public benefactors (**E30**, **F115**, **F123–31**). Their meeting-place has yet to be identified at Pompeii, while the identity of the building known as the ‘*sede degli Augustali*’/ ‘College of the Augustales’ at Herculaneum is disputed, although it was clearly a space in which the *Augustales* operated to some degree (perhaps a temple of Augustus). What is clear in both towns, however, is that individual *Augustales* could act as important public benefactors and could be recognized with public honours, including a *bisellium* (a double-width honorific chair for use at public shows), honorific statue and public burial place. Some of the most eye-catching tombs at Pompeii belong to *Augustales*, who were apparently keen to commemorate their status.

AUGUSTALES AT POMPEII (F115–17)

F115a Tomb of a prominent *Augustalis* at Pompeii

See Plate 6.4.

F115b Text

To Gaius Calventius Quietus, an *Augustalis*. Because of his generosity, the honour of a *bisellium* was given him by decree of the town councillors and by agreement of the people.

(*CIL* X 1026 = *ILS* 6372)

This is a particularly elaborate tomb of the Neronian period (tomb 20 left, outside the Herculaneum Gate), designed to give the impression that the deceased was a leading man of his generation. His name also appears in witness lists in the archive of Caecilius Iucundus (*CIL* IV 3340.50–1, 87). His tomb consists of an altar, raised up on several steps, within the centre of an enclosure. It is of marble with sculpted reliefs depicting a *bisellium* and footstool (on the front), and each side has an oak wreath with ribbons. A candidate of the same name, standing as duumvir during the late Neronian/Flavian era, may be his son.

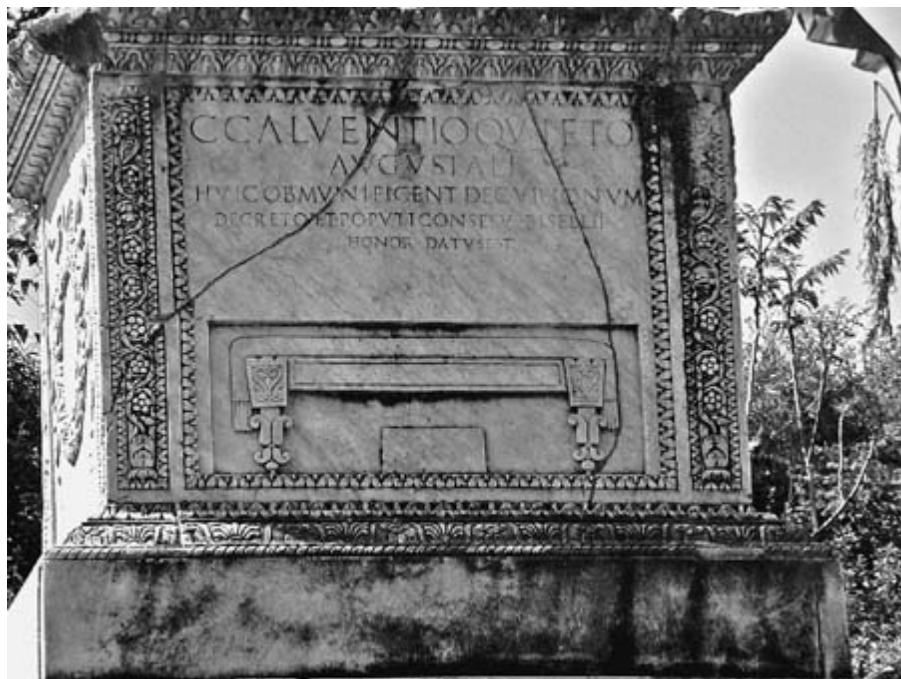


Plate 6.4 Tomb of a prominent *Augustalis* at Pompeii

F116 Self-commemoration by Munatius Faustus, outside the Nucerian Gate

Gaius Munatius Faustus, *Augustalis* and Country District Dweller by decree of the councillors, to himself and to his wife, Naevoleia Tyche.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 9ES)

During the late Neronian era, the *Augustalis* Munatius Faustus built himself a tomb outside the Nucerian Gate (tomb 9ES), for him to share with his wife, Naevoleia Tyche (a freedwoman). Inside this tomb were a number of herms, marking the burials of himself and members of his household (both freed and slave). His wife, however, evidently not satisfied with what he had done, built another, much more elaborate monument outside the Herculaneum Gate (tomb 22 left) (F117).

F117a Munatius Faustus commemorated by his wife, outside the Herculaneum Gate



Plate 6.5 Munatius Faustus commemorated by his wife, outside the Herculaneum Gate

F117b

Naevoleia Tyche, freedwoman of Lucius, for herself and for Gaius Munatius Faustus, *Augustalis* and Country District Dweller, to whom the town councillors with the consent of the people decreed an honorific chair for his merits. Naevoleia Tyche had this monument made in her lifetime for her own freedmen and freedwomen and those of Gaius Munatius Faustus.

(CIL X 1030 = ILS 6373)

This monument is similar to the adjacent [F115](#), an altar raised up on steps within the centre of an enclosure, decorated with sculptural reliefs, which represent highlights of his career. These depict on one side a *bisellium* and footstool, and on the other a ship. On the front is a detailed scene, showing a ceremony of some sort, perhaps a distribution (of money or grain?) made by the deceased to the people of Pompeii, or his funeral rites. Above this scene and the inscription appears a woman's head peering out from a window, probably none other than Naevoleia Tyche herself, surveying the monument she had commissioned. Munatius Faustus was not actually buried here, however, although a herm of a Gaius Munatius Atimetus was found here (CIL X 1031).

AUGUSTALES AT HERCULANEUM (F118–31)

F118 A dedicatory feast

Sacred to Augustus. Aulus Lucius Proculus and Aulus Lucius Iulianus, sons of Lucius, of the Menenian voting-tribe, at their own expense, at the dedication gave a feast to town councillors and *Augustales*.

(*AE* (1979) 169)

This is finely inscribed upon a plaque of white marble, found 3.50 metres above the floor level in the ‘College of the *Augustales*’. The inscription does not specify what is being dedicated, possibly the building itself, given the form of the inscription, but alternatively possibly an altar or statue.

F119 Space granted to the Augustales by the town council

By decree of the town councillors, a space for something to be built from its 0 foundations together with its plasterwork given at public expense to the *Augustales*.

(*CIL* X 1462)

Only the negative impression left by this inscription in volcanic material was discovered, in an area near the ‘College of the *Augustales*’. The text cannot now be verified.

F120 A building-inscription of the Augustales

The *Augustales* at their own expense.

(*CIL* X 977)

This is inscribed upon a large architrave block, mistakenly attributed to Pompeii in *CIL*, but belonging to the large portico (‘so-called basilica’) which is still underground to the north of the *decumanus*.

F121 Dedication to deified Julius

To deified Julius. The *Augustales*.

(*CIL* X 1411)

This statue base was a pair with **F112**, found beside the columns in the ‘College of the Augustales’.

F122 Dedication to deified Augustus

To deified Augustus. The *Augustales*.

(*CIL* X 1412)

On its findspot, see **F121**.

A PROMINENT *AUGUSTALIS*, MAMMIUS MAXIMUS (F123–31)

Mammius Maximus generously gave a market building to Herculaneum, and a series of statues of members of the imperial family. Statues of Livia, Antonia, and Agrippina were found in the large portico to the north of the *decumanus*, the ‘so-called basilica’ (see [F125](#), [128–29](#)). It is uncertain where the other statues donated by Mammius Maximus were originally displayed. The statue cycle dates from the Claudian era, and honours members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, starting with Augustus, and ending with Nero as Claudius' heir apparent. Mammius Maximus received the honour of a bronze statue in the theatre ([D68](#)).

F123 Public benefactions from Mammius Maximus

Lucius Mammius Maximus, built the market with its ornaments and rooms for hire at his own expense, and also at its dedication he gave [?a feast to the people].

(*CIL* X 1450)

F124 Statue of deified Augustus

To deified Augustus. Lucius Mammius Maximus at his own expense.

(*AE* (1979) 172)

This marble plaque probably belongs to a statue base.

F125 Statue of deified Augusta

To deified Augusta. Lucius Mammius Maximus, at his own expense.

(*CIL* X 1413 = *ILS* 123)

The fact that Livia is honoured as deified Augusta shows that this dates after her deification in AD 42.

F126 Statue of Tiberius

To Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of deified Augustus, grandson of deified Iulius, supreme pontiff, consul (?)five times, imperator (?)8 times, holder of tribunician power (?)38 times; Lucius Mammius Maximus, at his own expense.

(*AE* (1979) 173)

F127 Statue of Germanicus

To Germanicus Caesar, son of Tiberius, grandson of deified Augustus, great-

grandson of deified Julius, augur, *flamen augustalis*, consul twice, hailed victorious commander twice. Lucius Mammius Maximus, at his own expense.

(CIL X 1415 = ILS 177)

Germanicus was the adopted son of Tiberius, and his heir apparent until his sudden death in AD 19.

F128 Statue of Antonia the Younger

To Antonia Augusta, mother of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, supreme pontiff. Lucius Mammius Maximus at his own expense.

(CIL X 1417 = ILS 150)

This base preserves the remains of marble feet from a statue of Claudius' mother, Antonia (36 BC-AD 37).

F129 Statue of Agrippina the Younger

To Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, wife of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, supreme pontiff, holder of tribunician power, father of the fatherland. Lucius Mammius Maximus at his own expense.

(CIL X 1418)

Agrippina the Younger was wife of Claudius and mother of Nero. She was given the title Augusta in AD 50, which suggests that this dedication may have been made when she married Claudius in 49.

F130 Statue of Octavia

To Claudia Octavia, daughter of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, 11 supreme pontiff. Lucius Mammius Maximus at his own expense.

(AE (2009) 225)

Octavia was Claudius' daughter, who married Nero in AD 53, but was forced to commit suicide in AD 62. This was found in 1996, during excavations in *insula* I.

F131 Statue of Nero

To Nero Claudius Caesar [Germanicus Drusus] son of Tiberius Claudius Augustus Germanicus. Lucius Mammius Maximus at his own expense.

(AE (1979) 175)

This statue presumably dates between Nero's adoption by Claudius in AD 50 (compare [F140](#)) and his accession in AD 54.

THE IMPACT OF ROME

(F132–51)

F132a Decree of the Roman Senate on building, Herculaneum, 22 September AD 47

A decree of the Senate on 22 September in the consulship of Gnaeus Hosidius Geta and Lucius Vagellius.

‘Since the forethought of our excellent emperor has made provision for the buildings of our city and the whole of Italy for their permanence, which he himself aided not only by his most august instruction but also by his own example; and since it was appropriate to the happiness of the coming age to protect public and private buildings in due measure; and since everyone ought to refrain from the most savage kind of business and ought not to be bringing about the scene that is most incompatible with peace through the ruins of houses and villas; the Senate decrees:

If anyone for the sake of business buys a building so that he may by demolishing it gain more than the price he paid for it, then twice the sum at which he bought the property is paid into the treasury, and the matter shall nonetheless be referred to the Senate. And since equally people ought not to sell rather than buy through bad example, that sellers should also be compelled, who wittingly and with bad intent sell contrary to this will of the Senate, it is decreed that such sales shall be invalid. The Senate, however, affirms that nothing is decreed for owners who, intending to remain in possession of their own properties, change some parts of them, provided that this is not done for the sake of business.’

Approved. 383 senators were present.

F132b Decree of the Roman Senate on building, Herculaneum, 2 March AD 56

A decree of the Senate on 2 March in the consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Cornelius:

‘Seeing as Quintus Volusius and Publius Cornelius spoke on the request of the relatives of Alliatoria Celsilla, with regard to what it might please the Senate to be done with regard to this matter, concerning this matter they have decided as follows:

Since the decree of the Senate which was passed on 22 September during the consulship of Hosidius Geta and Lucius Vagellius, most distinguished senators, on the motion of deified Claudius forbade anyone from demolishing a house or a villa so as to gain more for himself, and forbade anyone for the sake of business from buying or selling any property, and established a penalty for any buyer who acted contrary to this decree of the Senate, namely that anyone who bought a property should be compelled to pay twice the price at which he had bought it to the treasury, and that the sale of the person who sold it should be invalid, but concerning those who intending to remain in possession of their own properties, changed some parts of them, provided that they did not change them for the sake of business, nothing new was introduced.

And since the relatives of Alliatoria Celsilla, wife of the most honourable Atilius Lupercus, explained to this body that her father, Alliatorius Celsus, had bought lands with buildings in the region of Mutina which is called Macer's Fields, where in earlier times a market had regularly been held, but which now for some years had ceased to be held, and these buildings were becoming dilapidated because they were old and would not be of any use if repaired because nobody lived in them nor would anyone wish to go and live in buildings that were solitary and collapsing:

That Celsilla should not be liable to any punishment, fine or penalty if these buildings, which were discussed in this body, should be either demolished, or on this condition if someone sells them whether on their own or with the lands that the buyer should be permitted to destroy or remove them without punishment. In future, however, everyone else should be advised to refrain from such a disgraceful kind of business, especially in this age in which it is more fitting that new buildings should be erected and all of them embellished by which the happiness of the world might shine forth, rather than that any part of Italy should be made ugly by the ruins of buildings, and that the [irresponsibility] of earlier times [which had its effect on everything] should still be continued so that it could be said that by old age [...]

Approved. Present in the Senate [were...]

(CIL X 1401 = ILS 6043)

This bronze tablet containing two related senatorial decrees was found at Herculaneum. It is unclear why they had been inscribed there, but we might suppose that local circumstances had made the issue of property speculation a

source of some anxiety there. The decrees give some insight into imperial ideology, with the expectation that the emperor should take the lead in promoting building projects not just in Rome, but in the towns of Italy as well.

IMPERIAL HONOURS (F133–45)

Statues of members of the imperial family were set up in a variety of public spaces in Pompeii, including the Forum, Theatre, and ‘Triangular Forum’. At Herculaneum, the large portico (‘so-called basilica’) to the north of the *decumanus*, which was excavated by the Bourbons in the eighteenth century but still remains underground, produced an impressive cluster of imperial statues of various sorts, in bronze and marble, life-sized and colossal, and in various guises, depicting both Julio-Claudians and Flavians, male and female (compare [F125](#), [128–29](#)). The same building housed several frescoes representing Hercules with Telephus (MANN inv. 9008), Theseus (MANN inv. 9049), Achilles with Chiron (MANN inv. 9109), and Pan/Marsyas with Olympus. Imperial statues dominated the space, with colossal bronze statues of Augustus as Jupiter (holding a thunderbolt) (MANN inv. 5595) and a heroic nude Claudius ([F139](#)), lifesized bronze statues of members of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian imperial family (MANN inv. 5609), headless colossal marble seated statues restored with portraits of Augustus and Claudius (MANN inv. 6040 + 6056), and a marble statue of Titus as military commander (MANN inv. 6059).

F133 Deified Julius, Herculaneum

To deified Julius. The people of Herculaneum.

(*CIL* X 1410)

F134 Augustus, Pompeii

To Imperator Caesar Augustus [son of the deified, hailed as victorious general] thirteen times, in his [?] year of tribunician power, father of his country, [consul ? times].

(*CIL* X 931)

This inscription was not itself found, but only the impression left by its letters, where it had fallen.

F135 Marcellus, Pompeii

To Marcus Claudius Marcellus, son of Gaius, patron.

(*CIL* X 832 = *ILS* 898)

Marcellus (42–23 BC) was nephew and son-in-law to Augustus. This inscribed marble base for a pedestrian statue was found in a prominent location, opposite the main entrance to the Triangular Forum. For patrons of Pompeii, see notes on [F93](#).

F136 Julia Augusta (Livia), Pompeii

To Augusta Julia, daughter of Drusus, (wife) of the deified Augustus. By decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 799 = *ILS* 122)

This honorific inscription to Augustus' wife (58 BC-AD 29) was found in the Forum, near the Temple of Jupiter. Livia became known as Julia Augusta after Augustus' death and deification in AD 14.

F137 Tiberius, Herculaneum, AD 37

To Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of deified Augustus, grandson of deified Julius, supreme pontiff, consul five times, hailed victorious commander eight times, holder of tribunician power for the 38th time, by decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 1414)

F138 Gaius Caligula as honorary magistrate of Pompeii

[... Phroni]mus slave of Messius Faustus; [Pl]acidus, slave of Veius Fronto; Aulus Arellius Graecus, attendants of Augustus by decree of the town councillors by command of [[Gaius Caesar]] Marcus Vesonius Marcellus, duumvirs with judicial power and Marcus Lucretius Epidius Flaccus, prefect, and of Lucius Albucius and Decimus Lucretius duumvirs in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings; in the consulship of Paullus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius.

(*CIL* X 901 = *ILS* 6396)

The future emperor Gaius Caligula was honoured by being nominated twice as the town's duumvir: in AD 34, when he was still Tiberius' heir, and in AD 40/1 when emperor (*CIL* X 904). This was an honorific position only: the real work was done by a prefect in each of those years, Marcus Lucretius Epidius Flaccus and Marcus Holconius Macer. In common with inscriptions bearing his name throughout the Roman world, his name was erased from an inscription set up by the attendants of Augustus in AD 34, indicated here by brackets [...], but, unusually, his name is preserved in another similar inscription (*CIL* X 902).

F139 Claudius, Herculaneum, AD 46/47

To Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus Augustus, son of Drusus, supreme pontiff, holder of tribunician power for the 6th time, hailed victorious commander 12 times, father of the fatherland, consul designate for the 4th time, by decree of the town councillors.

(*AE* (1979) 174)

F140a Colossal heroic bronze statue of Claudius

See *Plate 6.6*.

F140b

To Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of Drusus, supreme pontiff, holder of tribunician power for the eighth time, hailed victorious commander sixteen times, consul four times, father of the fatherland, censor, in accordance with the will of [?]essius Seneca, son of Lucius, of the Menenian voting-tribe, soldier of the thirteenth urban cohort, and at its dedication he bequeathed to the townsmen 4 sesterces each.

(*CIL* X 1416)

This statue, found in the ‘so-called basilica’ to the north of the *decumanus* was visually paired with a colossal bronze statue of Augustus in the guise of Jupiter (MANN inv. 5595). The statue was heavily restored in the eighteenth century.

F141 Nero as Caesar, Pompeii

To Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar, son of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, father of the fatherland. By decree of the town councillors.

(*CIL* X 932 = *ILS* 224)

This statue was voted to the future emperor, Nero, after he had been adopted by Claudius, but before he himself had become emperor, i.e. AD 51–54 (compare **F131**). Compare **D17–20** for a priest of Nero as Caesar.



Plate 6.6 Colossal heroic bronze statue of Claudius (MANN inv. 5593)

F142 Agrippina the Younger, Pompeii

To [Julia] Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus Caesar, (wife) of [Tiberius] Claudius Caesar Augustus.

(*CIL* X 933)

This inscription commemorates the Younger Agrippina (Nero's mother) as wife of Claudius, so presumably belongs to the same period as **F129**, **F141**.

F143 Vespasian's wife, Flavia Domitilla, Herculaneum

To Flavia Domitilla, wife of Imperator Vespasian Caesar Augustus.

(*CIL* X 1419)

F144 Titus' daughter, Julia, AD 79, Herculaneum

To Julia Augusta, daughter of Titus Caesar, by decree of the town councillors.
(*AE* (1979) 176)

The erection of this statue shows a speedy reaction by Herculaneum's town councillors to the change of emperor at Rome, since it must have been set up during the few months between Titus' accession on 23 June and the eruption in (?)October AD 79.

F145 Domitian's wife, Domitia Longina, Herculaneum

To Domitia, daughter of Gnaeus, wife of Domitian Caesar, by decree of the town councillors.
(*CIL* X 1422)

Reference to Domitia Longina's father reflects that she was an important person in her own right, as daughter of the famous Neronian general Domitius Corbulo, as well as in her role as wife of Domitian.

GOOD WISHES FOR RIVAL IMPERIAL WIVES IN GRAFFITI AT POMPEII (F146–147)

Neither of these graffiti is well preserved, but the following texts have been suggested for them. Both appear on exterior walls of private buildings. Octavia, daughter of Claudius, married Nero before he became emperor, but was forced to commit suicide in AD 62. Nero then wed Poppaea, but their relationship too ended unhappily three years later.

F146 Good wishes for Octavia

Octavia, wife of Augustus. Good wishes and good health to you.
(*CIL* IV 8277)

F147 Good wishes for Poppaea

Good fortune to Poppaea Augusta. Good fortune.
(*CIL* IV 10049)

For more graffiti regarding Nero and Poppaea, see [D45](#), [E27–28](#). Poppaea was given the title Augusta in AD 63.

THE INTERVENTION OF VESPASIAN'S AGENT,

SUEDIUS CLEMENS (F148–51)

Following his accession in AD 69, after traumatic civil wars (including the so-called ‘Year of the Four Emperors’), Emperor Vespasian was particularly concerned to stabilize the empire's finances. The actions of his agent at Pompeii, who undertook to investigate the usurpation of public lands by individuals and to reassign them to the town, was typical of Vespasian's initiatives as a whole. Multiple copies of this inscription documenting the intervention of Suedius Clemens were set up: examples have been found outside the Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1018), Vesuvian (*Notizie degli Scavi* (1910) 399), Nucerian (Sertà (2001/2) 238 n.3) and Marine Gate near the Suburban Baths (*AE* (2001) 796). Suedius Clemens' influence extended beyond his judicial business on behalf of the emperor into the realm of local politics, with his support being cited in several electoral notices favouring the candidature of Marcus Epidius Sabinus (F149–51; compare *CIL* IV 791 = *ILS* 6438b; *CIL* IV 7605) both directly (F151) and implicitly (F150).

F148 Reclaiming public lands

By the authority of Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus, Titus Suedius Clemens, tribune, made an inquiry into public lands appropriated by private individuals, carried out a survey and restored them to the Pompeian state.

(*CIL* X 1018 = *ILS* 5942)

F149 Support for Epidius Sabinus

I beg you to elect Marcus Epidius Sabinus duumvir with judicial power. He is worthy. May you elect one who is a protector of the colony according to the opinion of Suedius Clemens, the worshipful judge, and by agreement of the whole council on account of his merits and his honesty, worthy of public office. Sabinus, the theatre official, elects him with applause.

(*CIL* IV 768 = *ILS* 6438d)

This notice, at a major crossroads junction by the Stabian Baths, is unusually long and detailed.

F150 Council's support for Epidius Sabinus

I beg you to elect Marcus Epidius Sabinus duumvir with judicial power, a most worthy young man. The venerable council is electing him. Good fortune to Clemens, venerable judge.

(*CIL* IV 7579)

F151 Suedius Clemens' support

We beg you to elect Marcus Epidius Sabinus duumvir with judicial power, a

worthy young man. Suedius Clemens, most venerable judge, elects him at the request of his neighbours.

(CIL IV 1059 = ILS 6438c)

COUNTRY DISTRICT OFFICIALS AT POMPEII (F152–55)

Several inscriptions at Pompeii mention presidents (*magistri*) or attendants (*ministri*) of country districts. These were the rural equivalent of the presidents and attendants of urban districts (E91–93). Like them, these men tended to be freedmen and slaves respectively, and were thus excluded from membership of the local town council. Although we do not have any direct evidence for their carrying out religious duties, it is likely that they did so, as part of their local administrative responsibilities. By acting as officials of a country district, they could gain prestige and status, as well as acting as public benefactors. Such men clearly took some pride in their positions, commemorating their status upon their tombs (F154). The epitaph of Marcus Obellius Firmus (F114) reveals that the inhabitants of a Country District (*pagani*) had a formal system for meeting and passing decrees, much like the town council did. This also lies behind the dedication of an honorific statue to Marcus Holconius Celer by *pagani* (F152).

F152 Honorific dedication of a statue by *pagani*

To Marcus Holconius [Celer], son of Marcus, duumvir with judicial power, quinquennial [designate, priest] of Augustus; the inhabitants of a country district (set this up).

(CIL X 944)

This statue base was found reused in one of the buildings at the south end of the Forum; its letters had been erased with a chisel, but it was still possible to read the text.

Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District (F153–55)

One particular district, the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District, is prominent in the historical record: it was apparently reorganized in 7 BC, perhaps related in some way to that year's reorganization of the city of Rome by Augustus into regions, wards, and neighbourhoods. The presidents of this district also acted as benefactors in the town itself, paying for part of the Amphitheatre's stone seating (D1).

F153 The first attendants, 7 BC

Dama, slave of Agrippa Minor, Manlianus slave of Lucretius, Anteros slave of Staius II Rufus, Princeps slave of Mescinius, the first attendants of the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District set this up, in the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Nero for the second time and Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso.

(CIL X 924 = ILS 6381)

This illustrates a sense of hierarchy even between slaves, since the slave of a member of the imperial household is given prominence at the start of the list. 'Agrippa Minor' is Agrippa Postumus (grandson of Augustus), aged 5 in 7 BC. He nominally owned a villa somewhere near Pompeii, and also a roof-tile workshop, revealed by roof-tiles of 11 BC stamped with the inscription 'workshop of Agrippa Minor'.

F154 Tomb of a president of the district

Marcus Arrius Diomedes, freedman of a woman, (set this up) to himself and his family to their memory; president of the Fortunate Augustan Suburban Country District.

(CIL X 1042 = ILS 6378)

This epitaph was found on a tomb outside Herculaneum Gate, accompanied by a relief showing two *fasces* with axes, symbols of authority more normally associated with consuls at Rome or local magistrates.

F155 Tomb of a country-district dweller

To Numerius Istacidius Helenus, inhabitant of the Augustan Country District; to Numerius Istacidius Ianuarius; to Mesonia Satulla. 15 feet deep, 15 feet broad.

(CIL X 1027 = ILS 6379)

This inscription was found outside the Herculaneum Gate. As well as acting as an epitaph, it regulates the dimensions of the tomb enclosure.

LAW AND SOCIETY

Wax tablets were private records of legal transactions and were often sealed by witnesses; texts on wax were useful for documents of this kind, since any tampering or modification of a text would show up clearly upon the wax surface. Collections of wax tablets were found in eight different houses in Herculaneum during excavations of the 1930s; these preserve traces of writing in ink upon their wooden surface, but their wax surfaces were destroyed in the eruption. The texts written into the wax surface on tablets, however, were often repeated in full or in summary in ink on their outer wooden surface, and so deciphering even these partial texts can suggest a good sense of what each document concerned overall. The tablets illustrate the way in which law impacted upon society at Herculaneum. We start with collections of tablets relating to two particular individuals, Venidius Ennychus ([G1–4](#)) and Petronia Iusta ([G5–11](#)). Other individual tablets illustrate legal processes such as appointing a woman's guardian and the involvement of a private judge in a lawsuit between individuals ([G12–13](#)). An adult woman who had become independent on the death of her father or husband was required to have a legal guardian (*tutor*), who would formally (and in some cases, perhaps purely nominally) represent her in some kinds of financial and legal transactions (compare [G4](#), [G10](#), [G12](#), [H60](#), [H66](#)). The following houses preserved caches of tablets: eleven tablets piled upon each other were found in a room on an upper floor of *ins.* IV.17–18; a group of tablets was found on the upper floor of the 'House of the Alcove' (*ins.* IV.3–4); thirty-two tablets were discovered on a balcony next to the 'House of Galba' (*ins.* VII, 8 or 9); one group of tablets was uncovered in a wooden cupboard in a *cubiculum* on an upper floor of the 'House of the Wooden Shrine' (*ins.* V.31), while another group was found in the same room, in a chest under the bed; the archive of Cominius Primus was found in *ins.* V.19–22 and the archive of Venidius Ennychus on a wooden shelf fixed to the wall in an upper room in the 'House of the Black Hall' (*ins.* VI.13/11) (compare [H56](#)); further tablets were found in the 'House of the Bicentenary' (*ins.* V.15–16) and 'House of the Two Atria' (*ins.* VI.29). (For the wax tablets of Caecilius Iucundus from Pompeii, see [H102–15](#).)

Besides the wax tablets, further insights into the impact of law upon individuals' status within society can be recovered from funerary inscriptions, particularly in relation to the practice of manumission (granting freedom to slaves). The epitaphs of freedmen and freedwomen illustrate clearly the

importance to them of their E change in status. This not only gave them their freedom individually, but also meant that they were now able to enjoy legally recognized marriages and the fact EE that their children were regarded as freeborn if born after their parents had been freed (G14–21).

Finally, we turn to the law on property, illustrating how inscriptions could help to resolve ambiguity over property ownership, whether between private and public bodies (compare E45, F148) or between two private individuals, and outlining one particular dispute that is recorded upon a wax tablet (G27–29).

ARCHIVE OF VENIDIUS ENNYCHUS (G1–4)

An archive of thirty-nine writing-tablets was found upon a wooden shelf on an upper floor in the ‘House of the Black Hall’ (*ins.* VI.13/11), one of the largest 11 houses excavated at Herculaneum. They deal with a variety of judicial and commercial affairs (see H56, H68–70). The oldest document dates from AD 40/41, while the latest is from 31 December AD 66. Together, they shed light upon a specific category of Roman citizens, the ‘Junian Latins’. The fact that the tablets were carefully preserved reflects the importance to Venidius Ennychus I of keeping copies of the documents that charted his rise in status to full citizen ship. According to the terms of the *lex Aelia Sentia* of AD 4, a Junian Latin was the status given to individuals freed from slavery before they had reached the age of 30. Junian Latins were assimilated in status to informally freed slaves. Junian Latins were excluded from receiving legacies and could not make a will them- 11 selves either. They did, however, have the three names of a citizen (*tria nomina*), something which in general makes it difficult to identify people of this status, and they also had the right to undertake business dealings (*ius commercii*). In order to qualify for full Roman citizenship, they were required to have a one-year-old child from a legal marriage (*anniculi causae probatio*). This sequence of documents shows how Venidius Ennychus went through the steps to gain full citizenship, starting with a formal announcement of his daughter's birth on 24 July AD 60 (G1). The local town council then had to pass a decree in support of his application for full citizenship (G2, fragmentary), and then seek a ruling by the urban *praetor* at Rome confirming his new status (G3). The whole process was completed on 22 March AD 62. By this time, he had already been a Junian Latin for over twenty years. One of the benefits of achieving full citizenship is then illustrated by another tablet, which shows that Ennychus was subsequently appointed as a woman's guardian, or *tutor* (G4). For other tablets in the archive relating to commercial business, see H56, H68–70.

G1 Birth declaration, 24 July AD 60

In the consulship of Gaius Velleius Paterculus and Marcus Manilius Vopiscus, on 24 July, Lucius Venidius Ennychus has solemnly declared that a daughter has been born to him by his wife Livia Acte. Transacted at Herculaneum. {A list of witnesses follows.}

(*AE* (2006) 306 = *TH* 5 + 99 = *Camodeca* (2006a) 207–09)

G2 Decree of the town councillors of Herculaneum, 25 July AD 61

In the consulship of Lucius Velleius Paterculus and Gnaeus Pedanius Salinator, on 25 July. At Herculaneum in the *basilica Noniana*, [–] Marcus Antonius Rufus, Lucius Mammius Flac[cus –] town councillors [–].

(*AE* (2006) 307 = *Camodeca* (2006a) 209–11)

G3 Edict of the urban praetor, 22 March AD 62

Copied and checked from the edict of Lucius Servenius Gallus, praetor, which had been posted up at Rome in the Augustan forum under the Julian portico next to column [?] in front of his platform, in which had been written that which is written below: Lucius Servenius Gallus, praetor, declares: ‘Marcus Ofellius Magnus and Tiberius Crassius Firmus duumvirs and [...] Marcus Nonius Celsinus have reported to me a decree in which the town councillors of Herculaneum in accordance with the *lex Aelia Sentia* had sanctioned the case of Lucius Venidius Ennychus and of Livia Acte, on the grounds that they had a one-year-old daughter born from them at Herculaneum as a result of their lawful marriage, and so since the case in question has been confirmed, I approve that they are Roman citizens.’

Transacted on 22 March, in the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Afinius Gallus.’ {List of 12 witnesses follows}.

(*AE* (2006) 305 = *TH* 89 = *Camodeca* (2006a) 189–206)

This is an authenticated copy of a document displayed at Rome in the *forum Augustum*; its precise location there is given, although the exact number of the column beside which it was displayed is lost. It contains an edict of the urban praetor, the last formal step required to confirm the full Roman citizenship of Ennychus and his wife, on 22 March AD 62. It shows that the local council of Herculaneum sent four representatives up to Rome to present the case, which was then formally approved by the praetor. The document is sealed by twelve witnesses, probably including some from Rome alongside the visitors from Herculaneum.

**G4 Ennychus appointed as a guardian,
31 December AD 66**

{Remains of two and a half lines of text...} so that no guardianship may diverge from a lawful guardianship, he has given Lucius Venidius Ennychus as guardian in accordance with his wishes.

Transacted at Herculaneum, 31 December, in the consulship of Marcus Arruntius Aquila and Marcus Vettius Bolanus. {List of witnesses.}

(AE (2006a) 304 = TH 88 + 58 = Camodeca
(2006/7) 69–77)

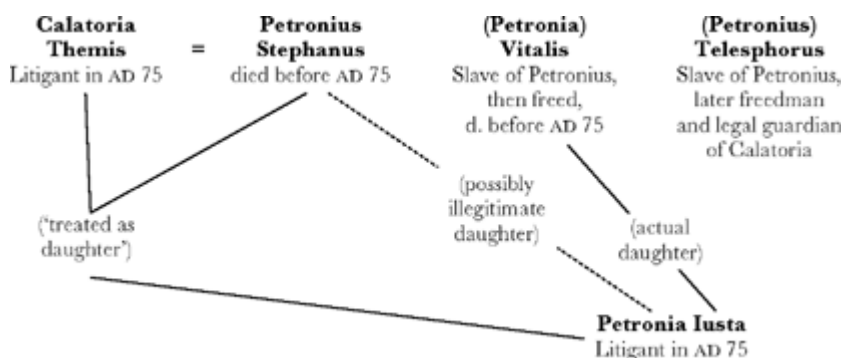
**PETRONIA IUSTA VERSUS CALATORIA
THEMIS (G5–11)**

A sequence of eighteen writing-tablets dating from AD 74/75 were found in a chest in the ‘House of the Bicentenary’. They deal with the controversy over the legal status of an individual called Petronia Iusta. She was the daughter of Petronia Vitalis, who had initially been a slave, but was then manumitted by Petronius Stephanus and his wife Calatoria Themis. Petronia Iusta claimed that she had been born with free status (*ingenua*) after her mother had been manumitted. Calatoria Themis, however, claimed that Petronia Iusta had been born a slave, and so was in fact her freedwoman. The documents track the legal proceedings, which endeavoured to clarify what status Petronia Iusta really possessed, carefully referring to her as ‘the woman who calls herself Petronia Iusta’. One problem posed by this case was that Petronia Iusta was of illegitimate birth, as indicated by ‘daughter of Spurius’, her father either having not formally been married to Petronia Vitalis, or being of unknown identity, and so Iusta was unable to produce a birth certificate that could have solved the dispute. Iusta had subsequently been separated from her mother and had been treated by her mother's patrons (Petronius Stephanus and Calatoria Themis) as if she were their daughter. Her mother Vitalis then tried to regain her daughter from them, offering to repay the cost of her maintenance to them. By the time of the legal case, both Petronius Stephanus and Petronia Vitalis had already died, but Petronia Iusta, now an adult, appears to have brought a case against Calatoria Themis, his widow, claiming that she was being treated by her wrongly, as if she were her freedwoman. The question of her exact status would have been important to Iusta if she were wishing to marry a Roman citizen; if she were only an informally manumitted Junian Latin, then she would have been unable to offer legal marriage, legitimate children, or an inheritance for any children.

The case was heard over several months during AD 75/76, with witnesses being called for both defence and prosecution; ten testimonials were delivered in favour of Iusta's claim that she was freeborn and three on behalf of Calatoria Themis. The nature of the evidence is anecdotal, with the witnesses

giving accounts of conversations involving Petronius Stephanus. One of the key supporters of Iusta's claim was Gaius Petronius Telesphorus; a freedman of Petronius Stephanus, he was also the guardian (*tutor*) of Calatorius Themis after her husband's death. He claimed that he had arranged a financial settlement for the return of Iusta to her mother. One intriguing possibility is that Petronius Stephanus himself was, in fact, the father of Petronia Iusta, and this might explain why emotions seem to run so high in the case. The final two documents (*vadimonia*) are guarantees that the defendant, Calatoria Themis, will appear in court at a future date; they show that the legal proceedings were partly conducted at Rome in the Augustan forum, suggesting that the authorities at Herculaneum had not been able to resolve the issue, and so it was transferred to the capital. The *vadimonium* arranged for a future appearance before a magistrate (the urban praetor at Rome) who would then decide whether the case should proceed or not, and if it was, would pass it on to a judge for a decision. Failure to turn up at this appointment would involve a financial penalty. The need for two *vadimonia* in this case may reflect the fact that Petronius Telesphorus had become a witness in support of Petronia Iusta (G6), and so Calatoria Themis needed to replace him as her legal guarantor.

Relationships between the protagonists in the case



G5 Witness statement by Q. Tamudius Optatus in support of Petronia Iusta

I, Quintus Tamudius Optatus, have written, and I have sworn by the *genius* of Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus and his children that I gave support to Petronia Vitalis when she was discussing with Calatoria Themis about the girl her daughter, that I heard there Petronius Stephanus the husband of Calatoria Themis say to Petronia Vitalis, ‘Why do you begrudge your daughter when we are treating her as if she were our daughter?’; from this I know that the woman about whom the case is being discussed is the freeborn daughter of Petronia Vitalis. This is the matter under discussion.

(*AE* (1951) 217 = *AE* (1956) 265)

**G6 Witness statement by C. Petronius Telesphorus in
support of Petronia Iusta**

I, Gaius Petronius Telesphorus, have written and I have sworn by the *genius* of Emperor Augustus and his children that I know about the girl Iusta about whom the case is being discussed that she was the freeborn daughter of Petronia Vitalis, my fellow-freedwoman and that I negotiated with Petronius Stephanus and Calatoria Themis for them to receive a maintenance allowance and return her daughter to her; from this I know that the woman Iusta, about whom the case is being discussed, is the freeborn daughter of Petronia Vitalis. This is the matter under discussion.

(Arangio-Ruiz (1959) 234–35: Tab. XVI)

**G7 Witness statement by M. Vinicius Proculus in
support of Petronia Iusta**

I, Marcus Vinicius Proculus, son of Marcus, have written and I have sworn by the *genius* of Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus and his children that I was for many years in the household of Petronius Stephanus, husband of Calatoria Themis and patron of Petronia Vitalis, at *Herculaneum*... There I heard Petronius Stephanus say on the day before the Ides about Vitalis, ‘The woman whom we are about to manumit is the only one we have’, and on the following Ides she was manumitted. From this I know that the woman about whom the case is being discussed, was the freeborn daughter of Petronia Vitalis. This is the matter under discussion.

(Arangio-Ruiz (1959) 237–38: Tab. XVII)

**G8 Witness statement by Sextus Vibidius Ampliatus in
support of Calatoria Themis**

I, Sextus Vibidius Ampliatus, have written and I have sworn by the *genius* of Emperor Vespasian Augustus and his children that I have always been in the household of Petronius Stephanus and Calatoria Themis his wife, and that I was present along with the name-giver of Calatoria Themis; from this I know that the girl was a freedwoman of Calatoria Themis. This is the matter under discussion.

(Arangio-Ruiz (1959) 239–40: Tab. XXIII)

**G9 Witness statement by Marcus Calatorius Marullus
in support of Calatoria Themis**

I [?] Mammius [?] have written at the request of Marcus Calatorius Marullus, in his presence, because he says he does not know how to write, that he has sworn by the *genius* of Emperor Vespasian Augustus and his children that I know that Calatoria Themis manumitted the girl as well as me; from this I know that the girl is a freedwoman of Calatoria Themis. This is the matter

under discussion.

(Arangio-Ruiz (1959) 241: Tab. XXIV)

G10 Summons to Rome, 6 September AD 75

An appointment is made for Calatoria Themis, on 3 December next at Rome in the Augustan forum in front of the platform of the urban praetor, at the second hour. The woman who claims that she is Petronia Iusta, daughter of Spurius, has exacted a promise for 1,000 sesterces to be given. Calatoria Themis, under the authority of her guardian Gaius Petronius Telesphorus has made a pledge. An appointment is made for Gaius Petronius Telesphorus for the stated day, place, and hour. Petronia Iusta, daughter of Spurius, has exacted a promise for 1,000 sesterces to be given. Gaius Petronius Telesphorus has made a pledge. Transacted 6 September in the consulship of Gaius Pompeius and Lucius Manlius Patruinus.

(*AE* (1951) 213 = *AE* (1951) 215 = *AE* (1952)
163 = *AE* (1956) 265)

G11 Summons to Rome, 12 March AD 76

An appointment is made for Marcus Calatorius Speudon on 12 March next at Rome in the Augustan forum in front of the temple of Mars the Avenger at the third hour. The woman who claims that she is Petronia Iusta, daughter of Spurius, has exacted a promise for 1,000 sesterces to be given. Marcus Calatorius Speudon has made a pledge. Transacted 12 March in the consulship of Caesar Domitian, son of Augustus, for the third time and Lucius Passidienus Firmus.

(*AE* (1951) 216 = *AE* (1956) 265)

OTHER WAX TABLETS FROM HERCULANEUM (G12–13)

G12 Appointment of a guardian

Cn.(?) Nassius Cerialis duumvir, in accordance with a decree of the town councillors, so that no guardianship may diverge from a lawful guardianship in accordance with the *lex Iulia Titia*, has given Quintus Vibius Ampliatus as guardian to Cornelia Thallusa.

(*AE* (2006) 303 = *TH* 13)

This wax tablet, dating from AD 40/50, was found on an upper floor in the 3111 'House of the Alcove' (*ins.* IV.3–4). It illustrates the power of the local

magistrate to appoint a legal guardian for women and *pupilli* (minors).

G13 Resolving a private lawsuit, 11 April AD 47

Gaius Manlius Tacitus, son of Gaius, of the Stellatine voting-tribe, adjudicator between Publius Vedius Carus, legal representative of Marcus Caecilius Natalis, and Quintus Vibius Ampliatus, legal representative of Gaius Caecilius Zeno, face to face openly with both being present, expressed his opinion, and released Quintus Vibius Ampliatus according to the usual procedure. At the council were present Quintus Hortensius Blaesus, son of Quintus, of the Stellatine voting-tribe; Gaius Turranius Calvinus, son of Gaius, of the Sergian voting-tribe. Transacted on the 11 April in the consulship of Gaius Rantius Sedatus and Marcus Hordeonius Flaccus.

(*AE* (1999) 450 = *TH* 85)

This is an unusual document, illustrating the actions of a non-professional private 0111 adjudicator, acting with the aid of a council of advisers, in helping to resolve a legal dispute between two individuals. The voting-tribes listed here suggest that the individuals concerned were not local to Herculaneum.

FREEDMEN AND FREEDWOMEN (G14–21)

Freedmen and freedwomen – slaves who had been freed by their masters – were a distinctive feature of Roman society and became increasingly prominent from the Augustan period onwards, until Caracalla granted universal citizenship to the inhabitants of the Empire in AD 212. Such individuals were particularly keen to celebrate their achievement in becoming Roman citizens. They could do this through the medium of their tombs, and consequently are probably over-represented in the funerary record. After their release, ex-slaves became clients of their patron, retaining close connections with their original household. They might still live in the same house and might be buried in the household's tomb at their death, in some cases even being responsible for building the tomb themselves (**G14–16**). Some freedmen and freedwomen promoted their patron's commercial interests (**D125, H42, H46, H55, H78**).

Some of their epitaphs provide intriguing glimpses of the success with which they and their families were integrated into Roman citizen society after their manumission. We can see how two slaves of the same master could marry after having received their freedom (slaves could not legally marry) (**G17–18**). Once freed, ex-slaves could possess slaves and build up a network of freedmen and freedwomen for themselves. It was also the case that children born to a freed -woman after her manumission were full Roman citizens

(G19).

Freedmen were excluded from reaching the ranks of the governing class, but could achieve positions of importance and act as benefactors of the community at a lower level, in certain religious cults (E40–43, E47–51, E91–93) and as *Augustales* (E80), or officials in their country district (F152–54). Imperial freedmen and freedwomen – slaves freed by the emperor or by a member of the imperial family – were regarded as being of higher status than normal ex-slaves (G20–21; compare F153). The imperial household of slaves, freedmen, and freedwomen was huge, and its members would travel in order to accompany the emperor and his family, or to look after their economic interests.

INTEGRATION OF A FREEDWOMAN INTO AN ELITE HOUSEHOLD AT POMPEII (G14–16)

G14 Freedwoman's commemoration of her patron

To Gaius Veranius Rufus, son of Quintus, duumvir; Verania Clara, freedwoman of Quintus, to her excellent patron, for herself and her household.
(AE (1990) 179a)

This inscription is on a marble plaque in the centre of the tomb's façade (Tomb F, north: Nuceria Gate necropolis), a rectangular enclosure with gabled roof.

G15 Freedwoman's herm

Verania Clara, freedwoman of Quintus.
(AE (1990) 179b)

G15–16 are on marble herms inside the tomb enclosure, marking actual burials.

G16 Herm for Veranius Rufus, aedile

Gaius Veranius Rufus, son of Quintus, aedile.
(AE (1990) 179c)

MARRIAGE OF EX-SLAVES AT POMPEII (G17–18)

G17 Caecilia Agathia and Caecilius Dioscurides

Caecilia Agathia, freedwoman of Lucius, in her lifetime constructed this for herself and for Lucius Caecilius Dioscurides, freedman of Lucius, her husband.

(*AE* (1990) 177a)

This is inscribed on a limestone plaque on the façade of Tomb D north, Nucerian Gate necropolis.

G18 Mancia Doris and Mancius Diogenes

To Publius Mancius Diogenes, freedman of Publius, in accordance with his will, at the discretion of Mancia Doris, freedwoman of Publius.

(*EE* VIII no. 326)

This is inscribed upon a marble tablet on the façade of another tomb in the Nucerian Gate necropolis (fondo Pacifico).

A FREEDMAN'S FREEBORN CITIZEN SON (G19)

G19 Social mobility at Pompeii

Marcus Petacius Dasius, freedman of Marcus. To Marcus Petacius Severus, son of Marcus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, his son; to Petacia Vitalis, freedwoman of Marcus, freedwoman.

(*NSc* (1893) 333)

This epitaph shows another case of the marriage of two ex-slaves freed by the same master. Since their son was born after his mother had been freed, he is of freeborn status, and this is emphasized by reference to his citizen voting-tribe and filiation.

IMPERIAL FREEDMEN/WOMEN AT POMPEII (G20–21)

G20 Livia's freedman

Nardus, freedman of Livia.

(*CIL* X 1076)

This inscription, found reused, commemorated a freedman of Livia (wife of Augustus).

G21 Claudius' freedwoman

To Claudia Laudica, freedwoman of the emperor. Lived 55 years.

(EE VIII no.319)

This herm outside the Stabian Gate commemorated a freedwoman of Emperor Claudius.

HOUSE OF THE VETTII (G22)

G22 Reports of the excavation of the House of the Vettii (VI.xv.1.27)

The following extracts belong to the publication in the *Notizie degli Scavi* of the 'Journal of the excavations compiled by the assistants'. The report only describes mythological paintings, and does not mention other types of scenes.

1–5 November 1894: The excavations to the east of the House of the Labyrinth were restarted, in Region VI, insula 12. The workmen are directing their attention towards the clearance of the rooms to the right as one looks towards the doorway and in the first of these, which is opposite the peristyle, three paintings came to light, with depictions of the punishment of Dirce in the first, the punishment of Pentheus in the second, and of Hercules with the snakes in the third. In the last room were found another two paintings, one depicting Bacchus and other figures present at the struggle between Cupid and Pan; and the other depicting Cyparissus. The two panels that used to decorate the walls on the east and west sides are missing.

10 December 1894: The excavations continued in the same place. In the *atrium*, to the left of the *impluvium* the strongbox was found, leaning against a pilaster. It was covered with bronze and iron, and now its restoration is awaited, since it was in fragments.

11 December 1894: The excavations continued in the peristyle of the house in insula 12 of Region VI. Near the strongbox previously recorded was picked up: *Bronze*. A casing for a lock with the four corresponding small nails. Seal on which was read in raised letters:

{in *NSc*, the text is shown as it would appear on the seal, in reverse}.

A. VETTI
RETVSTT

It is surmounted by a ring, in whose setting is cut an *amphora*. Another seal with the legend also in raised letters:

{again in NSc, the text is shown as it would appear on the seal, in reverse}.

A. VETTI
CONVIVAE

It is also surmounted by a ring, in whose setting is a *caduceus* {wand}. Ring with the legend:

{again in NSc, the text is shown as it would appear on the seal, in reverse}.

A V CO

in which is clearly repeated the name of the previous seal, i.e. A(uli) V(etti) Co(nviviae).

(Extracts from *Notizie degli Scavi* (1894) p.406)

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND INTEGRATION (G23–27)

G23–27 are the epitaphs inscribed together on a single plaque of marble across the façade of tomb 17OS outside the Nuceria Gate at Pompeii. They show the migration, possibly during the Caesarian period, of a whole family to Pompeii from the area of Arpinum, 80 miles to the north-west of Pompeii, where they had held public office. Having moved to Pompeii, the family became office-holders here too; Gaius Tillius Rufus, son of Gaius (possibly the same as **G23**) is known to have been duumvir twice at Pompeii (*CIL* X 8148). Three generations are commemorated by inscriptions on the tomb, set up by the youngest member of the family, whose name is not fully preserved at the start of the inscription (**G23–25**).

G23 Gaius Tillius(?), the tomb builder

[Gaius? Tillius], son of Gaius, of the Cornelian voting-tribe; [military tribune] of the 10th Cavalry Legion, duumvir with judicial power.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17OS, inscription A)

The 10th Cavalry Legion was formed by Julius Caesar and nicknamed 'cavalry' despite remaining a standard infantry legion. It was later disbanded by Augustus.

G24 His grandfather, Gaius Tillius

To Gaius Tillius, son of Lucius, of the Cornelian voting-tribe, grandfather.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17OS, inscription C)

G25 His father, Gaius Tillius Rufus, magistrate at Arpinum and Pompeii

To Gaius Tillius Rufus, son of Gaius, of the Cornelian voting-tribe, father, duumvir with judicial power twice, aedile with judicial power at Arpinum, augur at Verulae.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17OS, inscription B)

Verulae was a smaller town, 13 miles to the north-west of Arpinum.

G26 His mother, Fadia

To Fadia, daughter of Gaius, mother.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17OS, inscription D)

G27 His brother, Tillius Rufus

To Gaius Tillius Rufus, son of Gaius, of the Cornelian voting-tribe, brother, military tribune in the 10th legion, augur at Verulae.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17OS, inscription E)

PROPERTY LAW (G28–30)

G28 Property ownership at Herculaneum

[On one side] Continuous private wall of Marcus Nonius Dama, freedman of Marcus.

[On the other side] Continuous private wall of Julia.

(*AE* (1937) 176 = *AE* (1945) 95 = Guadagno (1978) 151 no.49)

This marble plaque, with inscriptions on both of its sides (both quite different from each other in lettering), clarified the ownership rights of two successive owners over a wall between two private houses. The inscription defined this wall as privately rather than jointly owned. Originally it was fixed to the exterior wall of a building on *cardo* IV.

G29 Boundary between public and private space, Pompeii

Public space of the Pompeians.

(*AE* (2001) 795; *AE* (2006) 290)

Five boundary markers inscribed with this text in abbreviated form (L.P.P.) have been found in the area of the Suburban Baths just outside the Marine Gate of Pompeii. They appear to have been used to distinguish public from

private land in an area where private roads intertwined with public space.

G30 A property dispute at Herculaneum, AD 69

An account of the inquiry into whether Lucius Appuleius Proculus had 306 stakes that had been deposited with Nonius Primigenius.

Lucius Cominius Primus asked Lucius Appuleius Proculus whether he had from him 306 stakes in accordance with the judgement of Tiberius Crassius Firmus, arbitrator in the dispute which was concerning the boundary of the Numidian estate of Lucius Cominius Primus and of the Stlasanician estate of Lucius Appuleius Proculus, which they had deposited for safe-keeping with Marcus Nonius Primigenius. Thereupon Lucius Appuleius Proculus replied: 'I have received back from you my 306 cut stakes, which had been deposited with Marcus Nonius Primigenius, in accordance with the judgement of the arbitrator Tiberius Crassius Firmus.' Transacted at Herculaneum, 26 January when Emperor [[Galba]] Otho Caesar (was consul?).

Witnesses: seal of M. Caecilius Potitus, Tiberius Crassius Firmus, Lucius Mammus Marianus, Numerius Blaesus Saturninus, (?) Marius Celsinus, M. Livius Epagathus, Gaius Lusius Secundianus, L. Venidius Ennychus, M. Nonius Primigenius, M. Nonius(?) Cy[paerus?].

(AE (1994) 416 = TH 77 + 78 + 80 + 53 + 92)

This set of documents contains an index of its contents on the edge of the tablet, the main text and a list of witnesses. It relates to a dispute concerning the boundary between two estates, which had been marked out by stakes. The document was found in the archives of one of the litigants, Lucius Cominius Primus, in *ins.V.19–22*. The dispute was adjudicated by a former magistrate of the town, Crassius Firmus. This tablet is one in a sequence of documents; other tablets relate to the appointment of the adjudicator (**TH** 76) and the judgement of the adjudicator (**TH** 79). The document translated above follows on from these, in the form of a questioning of Proculus after the adjudicator's judgement had been given (in legal form, an *interrogatio*-and-response). Cominius had set up the stakes to mark out the disputed boundary, and these had then been deposited with a third party for safe-keeping, by common consent. Proculus confirms that he has received his 306 stakes, which had been deposited with Primigenius following the adjudicator's judgement. Primigenius had been safe-keeping the stakes while the dispute was being resolved. The wooden stakes themselves were evidently considered to be a valuable commodity. The document happens to date from a particularly turbulent moment during the Year of the Four Emperors, 26 January AD 69. Emperor Galba, along with his fellow-consul, T. Vinius, was killed on 15 January, and for eleven days Rome was without consuls until the new emperor Otho, along with his brother, was appointed consul on 26 January. In the place where one would expect a consular date, the scribe at Herculaneum has

initially written Galba's name, which he has then crossed out. He has then dated the document by the name of Otho alone, presumably before official news of the consular appointments made on 26 January reached Herculaneum.

COMMERCIAL LIFE

Pompeii offers us a unique opportunity to appreciate the energy with which the occupants of a small harbour town engaged in commercial activities. Pompeii was ideally situated to act as an intermediary for inland areas towards Nuceria (A7). It also hosted one of the region's weekly markets (H3–4). Some of the inhabitants expressed their enthusiasm for making money in floor mosaics displayed prominently in their houses (H38, H58–59) and there was no shortage of opportunities for doing so. Inscriptions of many kinds (electoral notices, tombstones, and graffiti) reveal a wide range of occupations practised in the town (H80–97). Money-making took many forms, from trade to renting out property, from education to prostitution (H58–79). It is also possible to uncover the distribution pattern of fountains, bars, and bakeries in much of the town, which (much like the distribution of electoral notices, F29) gives an impression of the relative levels of activity in different parts of the town (H116).

The region's natural fertility made an important contribution to its productivity and prosperity (H1–2). Innovative archaeological investigation by Jashemski (1979, 1993) has transformed our picture of land use within the town's walls. When trees and plants died in the aftermath of the eruption, their roots decayed, so that gradually the cavities left behind became filled by volcanic debris. When excavating, the cavities can be carefully cleared of debris, and then filled with cement. When this hardens, the soil from around the cast is removed, and often the shape of the root can be identified as being that of a specific plant. Jashemski's work has uncovered commercial market gardens and vineyards (H12), as well as domestic gardens. Some of the locally produced wine was exported (see notes on H77–78), but much of it would have been consumed in the neighbourhood. Pottery transport containers (*amphorae*) found on the site show that large quantities of wine were also brought into the town, to cater for the market for wines of different taste, quality, and price (H7–13, H22).

Pompeii's fish sauce, however, was of world-class quality. According to Pliny the Elder, the town was famous for its production of fish sauce (*garum*) (H34). The major sites where it was produced are still unidentified, probably because they were on the coast or along the river. These areas are still not

fully excavated and remain disguised by changes inflicted upon the local landscape by the eruption. The area could certainly provide the necessary ingredients: fish from the sea, salt from the Salt District outside what is now known as the Herculaneum Gate (**B6**, **F24**) and fresh water from the Sarno river. Nevertheless, recent excavations near the Stabian Gate have identified small-scale urban fish-salteries dating from the second/first centuries BC. This has led to other identifications of fish-salting vats elsewhere in the town, notably a cluster of six vats just inside the Herculaneum Gate. Fish sauce tended to be stored in *urcei*, clay vessels smaller than those used for wine. The containers of one particular producer, Umbricius Scaurus, far outnumber those of any other producer, and a detailed picture of his business can be built up from these containers and from other finds (**H38–46**).

Although amphorae were primarily transport containers for fluids, especially wine and olive oil, their inscriptions show a far greater variety of contents. They might contain a whole range of goods for sale, from edibles such as fruit, nuts, and pulses to lotions and medicines (**H47–50**). The prices of some of these goods are revealed by graffiti (**H25–27**).

The local authorities were in charge of regulating trade and commerce in the town. At Pompeii, the standardization of public measures in the Forum was undertaken by the duumvirs during the Augustan period, apparently adapting the pre-existing Oscan system by erasing the earlier measurements inscribed in Oscan and modifying the measuring holes within the table itself (**H98**). At Herculaneum, the town council appointed the Marci Remmii, father and son, to regulate the public weights and marketplace (**F88**). A series of paintings found in the estate of Julia Felix at Pompeii vividly illustrate other aspects of commercial life in the Forum (**H100–01**).

Finally, wax tablets from both Pompeii and Herculaneum give an impression of the variety of business transactions conducted by individuals. The archive of the banker Lucius Caecilius Iucundus (**H102–15**) includes documents that relate to his collection of local taxes on behalf of the town and to his role as intermediary between buyer and seller at auctions. Two other wax tablets in the Palaestra Baths (**H60**) at Pompeii relate to a business deal between two women, while tablets from Herculaneum record a variety of commercial transactions (**H53–57**, **H64–70**). These all show that wax tablets must have been in common use and were not just the professional apparatus of the banker.

* * *

A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE (**H1–4**)

H1 The natural resources of the region

Also fertile Capua and the gardens at the Caudine Forks;

Stabiae, famous for its fountains and the countryside of Vesuvius;
 Learned Naples irrigated by the waters of the Sebethos;
 Pompeii's sweet marshes near to salt-works of Herculaneum,
 Which the Siler (Sele) River waters with its clear streams.

(Columella, *On Agriculture* 10.132–136)

H2 The fertility of Campania

Of everything not just in Italy, but in the whole world, the region of Campania is the most beautiful. Nothing is more temperate than its climate; indeed, its spring flowers blossom twice. Nothing is more fertile than its land; consequently, there is said to be a competition between Liber and Ceres. Nothing is more welcoming than its sea; here are those famous harbours of Caieta, Misenum and Baiae with its warm springs, the Lucrine Lake and Avernus, some of the pleasures of the sea. Here are the mountains which befriend the vine – Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus and, most beautiful of them all, Vesuvius, imitator of Etna's fire. Here are the coastal cities of Formiae, Cumae, Puteoli, Naples, Herculaneum, Pompeii and that chief of cities, Capua, once reckoned among the three greatest.

(Florus *Epitome* 1.16)

This description comes in Florus' summary of the Samnite War (compare [A9](#)), part of his abridgement (epitome) of Roman history. Liber (Bacchus) and Ceres are associated with wine and cereal respectively (compare [A2](#), [A8](#)). For a map of the Bay of Naples, see [A1](#).

H3 A list of the region's market days

(Day)	(Markets)
Saturn	Pompeii Nuceria
Sun	Atilla Cumae Nola
Moon	Cumae
Mars	Puteoli
Mercury	Rome
Jove	Capua
Venus	

(CIL IV 8863)

Graffiti recording the pattern of markets in the region show that Pompeii was one of the towns to host a regular regional market. These graffiti also illustrate the difficulties of dealing with the Roman calendar. Although the calendar in use today is essentially that created by Julius Caesar in terms of the lengths of months and leap years, the Romans used a different system for days of the

month, looking forward to one of three named days in the month (Kalends = 1st, Nones = 5th or 7th, Ides = 13th or 15th). Thus, our 30 December was called ‘three days before the Kalends of January’ (counting inclusively: 30th, 31st, 1st). Official calendars marked days in an eight-day cycle, but the Romans also imported from Egyptian astrologers the idea of a seven-day week with each day sacred to a particular planet. (Names of days of the week in English, French, Italian and Welsh preserve some or all of these names, e.g. Satur(n)day; Mar(s)di, etc.).

The writer of **H3**, found on the wall of a shop (III.iv.1), seems to have thought in terms of a seven-day week and noted the venue of local markets. If the writer was intending the table to be of general use, rather than covering a particular week, the local markets must have operated on a regular seven-day cycle, not the eight-day cycle recorded as part of official Roman calendars. Above the table are various numbers and calculations. The table is not clearly aligned: the eight place-names are written slightly smaller and occupy the space of the first six days only. Three further columns to the right of the table list the dates between the day after the Ides of one month and the Ides of the next. However, whichever months are taken, the list is incorrect. Three more columns list the Roman numerals between I and XXX.

H4 Market days in February AD 60

In the consulship of Nero Caesar Augustus and Cossus Lentulus, son of Cossus, 8 days before the *Ides* of February {i.e. 6 February}, Sunday, 16 (day of the new) moon, market at Cumae, 5 (days before the *Ides* of February), market at Pompeii.

(CIL IV 4182)

This graffito contains confusion over dates of market days: 6 February AD 60 was not a Sunday but a Wednesday. Neither day seems to agree with **H3**, which records markets at Cumae on Monday (‘Moon’) and at Pompeii five days later. It also includes the number of days since the last new moon.

WINE PRODUCTION AND SELLING (H5–13)

Literary sources provide a little information about Pompeian wine production (**H5**), and pioneering excavations by Jashemski since the 1960s uncovered some commercial vineyards within the town. Most of our archaeological evidence, however, relates to the selling and consumption of wine. It is possible to deduce the origin of an *amphora* from its shape, material, and labels, and this information reveals how diverse the origins were of the wine drunk in the town. A case-study of the *amphorae* found on the premises of a wine dealer adds more detail to this picture of diversity by tracing the

geographical distribution of one wine-seller's suppliers. Graffiti and paintings cast further light upon aspects of the everyday consumption of wine and of the choice available to the drinker.

H5 Types of vine

For around Vesuvius is the Murgentine vine, a very strong species from Sicily, which some call Pompeian, productive only in fertile soil, like the Horconian variety, which is grown only in Campania.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 14.35)

Columella *On Agriculture* 3.2.27 also mentions the Horconian and 'Pompeian' Murgentine vines. It is possible that 'Horconian' is a manuscript variant for 'Holconian' and that this type of vine may have been named after the Pompeian family of the Holconii (see [D54](#), [D56–58](#), [F93](#)).

H6 Pompeian grape variety

The *municipium* of Pompeii gives its name to a variety of grape, though it is grown more at Chiusi.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 14.38)

INFORMATION FROM POTTERY STORAGE AND TRANSPORT VESSELS (AMPHORAE) (H7–13)

In literature, we hear of wine-jars labelled with the name of the wine and the consular year in which it was produced. In fact, only a few consular dates have been found (*CIL* IV 2552–61) and often labels simply say 'Red' or 'Vintage Red' (rarely white). (Compare [A30](#) for Oscan practice). Somewhat more frequently, the names of the wines are found. Not surprisingly, the majority of these are local, from Vesuvius, Sorrento ([H7](#)), Capua, Cumae, Telesia, Trifolinus (near Naples), and Falernus in Campania. The last two were well known in Rome, Falernian being a byword for good wine in literature, as also reflected in a graffito in a bar at Pompeii ([H20](#)). Faustinum wine ([H8](#)) was a very good type of Falernian according to the Elder Pliny. Also renowned was wine from Setia (40 miles southeast of Rome, but 100 miles from Pompeii), found at Pompeii. Perhaps more surprising are the *amphorae* labelled as containing wine from Tauromenium (modern Taormina) in East Sicily, which are as numerous as those from any named local vineyard. It is possible, however, that at least some local wines were moved around in skins or in barrels rather than in the pottery containers suitable for seetravel. Several *amphorae* from the Greek island of Cos have also been found ([H9](#) seemingly imported to Rome first; [H10](#)), and individual examples from Crete

and from Cnidos (south-west Asia Minor/Turkey).

H7 Sorrentine wine

(Wine from the farm of) Fabius at Sorrento. When Vespasian was consul for the second time.

(CIL IV 5521 and 5522)

This label was found on an *amphora* type Mau XII/Dressel 2–4, in the *tablinum* of IX.viii.6 (Pompeii). It dates from AD 70.

H8 Faustinum wine

(Wine from) Faustinum in the fourth consulship of Claudius and the third of L. Vitellius.

(CIL IV 2553)

This label was found at Pompeii on an *amphora* type Mau XII/Dressel 2–4. The consular date is AD 47.

H9 Wine from Cos at Pompeii

Coan (wine from) (?)Granianus' (farm). Workshop at Rome of Aterius Felix.

(CIL IV 2565)

H10 Wine from Cos at Herculaneum

Excellent Coan vintage at Herculaneum of Livius Alcimus.

(CIL IV 10722)

This label was found on an *amphora* fragment in the bar belonging to M. Livius Alcimus, *ins. Or.* II.9, at Herculaneum, along with other *amphorae* found labelled as his property (compare CIL IV 10784–88).

H11 Wine-selling at Pompeii: a case-study

Of Sextus Pompeius Amarantus.

(Berry (1997) 122)

I.ix.11–12 ('House of Amarantus') was used as a wine-shop during the town's last years of existence. The owner's name appears in an electoral notice on the western façade of House 11 (F19). His name was also recently found on two *amphorae* in the garden, as above. The *amphorae* found vary in shape and size, and many bear E inscriptions, several in Greek. Consequently, their places of origin can be traced, revealing a surprising range of contacts for a relatively small-scale business. Excavations during the 1990s and archive

work investigating its first excavation in 1952–53 have also revealed not just the findspots of the *amphorae*, but also how they were found, and what they were being used for. Three *amphorae* in the *atrium* (room 2) of I.ix.12 were full of lime mortar, and were accompanied by a pile of blue pigment, and two *amphorae* in another part of the same room contained *cocciopesto* (a type of mortar). In the same room, used empty *amphorae* were cast aside in what looks like an *impluvium* (although curiously, it has no water-cistern beneath), while full containers of wine were stacked upright in a corner. Also found was a group of broken *amphorae*, including over thirty Cretan wine *amphorae*. Other *amphorae* were carefully stacked upside down, probably in two tiers, in a corner of the garden in I.ix.11. These were mostly local Campanian Dressel 2–4 *amphorae* for wine, with a few Cretan, two Aegean and one rare *amphora* from Gaza. This case-study thus illustrates the limitations of the vast majority of *amphora* finds on the site, which have tended to end up in storerooms divorced from their contexts.

H12 The Inn of Euxinus (I.xi.10–11) – shop-sign

The phoenix is lucky; may you be too.

(CIL IV 9850, with Solin (1968) 123–24)

Outside the Inn of Euxinus is a painted sign depicting a phoenix and two facing peacocks. Its short text (above) wishes good fortune to customers. The name of the innkeeper Euxinus appears in an electoral notice painted on the inn's façade (F18). Excavation revealed that thirty-two vines were planted in the garden, in irregular rows. Their grapes could have been fermented on the premises in two large pottery vessels (*dolia*), found partially embedded in the ground. Each of these had a capacity of about 100 gallons. Presumably Euxinus made available to his customers a range of wines, both home-produced and imported.

H13 The Inn of Euxinus (I.xi.10–11) – delivery of *amphorae*

At Pompeii, near the Amphitheatre, to the innkeeper Euxinus.

(AE (1967) 86d)

Three *amphorae* found in the inn bear labels instructing their delivery to this address.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION (H14–19)

Campania's volcanic soil was extremely fertile (H2) and still is, as any casual

visitor will see. Pompeii and Herculaneum were particularly known for specific products, such as figs ([H14–15](#)), onions ([H16](#)), and cabbage ([H17](#)). Two of the wax tablets found at Herculaneum deal with the sale of agricultural produce from local farms ([H18–19](#)).

H14 Local figs

Here is Cloatius' typically careful listing of types of figs {*around 23 varieties, including*} ... Herculanean ... early Pompeian.

(Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.20, quoting Cloatius (fragment 9))

H15 Cato's advice

Plant the Herculanean fig in richer or well-manured soil.

(Cato, *On Agriculture* 8.1)

This observation is repeated by Pliny, *Natural History* 15.72.

H16 Pompeian onion

Choose the Pompeian or Ascalonian onion or even the plain Marsic, which locals call 'unio' {the pearl}.

(Columella, *On Agriculture* 12.10.1)

H17 Pompeian cabbage

The Pompeian type {cabbage} is taller; with a thin stalk near the root, it thickens nearer the leaves which are thinner and less abundant but are prized for their tenderness. It does not tolerate frosts.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 19.140)

H18 Sale of agricultural produce, AD ?40

(?)Nico, slave of Herennia Tertia, has exacted a promise that 1,800 sesterces are duly paid in good coin on next 1 March on account of the produce of the Cadianus farm that has been sold. Lucius Annius Agathemerus has given a pledge. Transacted at Nola on 16 October in the consulship of Marcus Cluvius(?) and Marcus Furnius Augurinus.

(*AE* (1999) 449 = *TH* 12)

This wax tablet documents how the farm owner Herennia Tertia has sold produce from her farm via the agency of a slave (perhaps her steward) on 16 October for 1,800 sesterces. The purchaser L. Annius Agathemerus has pledged that he will settle up on the following 1 March. One possible explanation is that the produce in question are grapes on the vine and that the price was to be paid in full once the purchaser, had had a chance to produce

and sell wine from the grapes once harvested.

H19 Agreement concerning the Blandian farm, AD 60

In the consulship of Gaius Velleius Paterculus and Marcus Manilius Vopiscus, on 2 September, I, Quintus Iunius Theophilus, have written that I have formally promised to Aulus Tetteius Severus with respect to the Blandian farm that he may harvest, have full use of, carry off, and send to market all the produce of his part, and that a store for wine and intact seals be made available until 13 August next, and that he may carry off, send to market, take away, and auction his property, slaves and all his animals, as is permitted.

Aulus Tetteius Severus has exacted a promise that all these things, as mentioned above, are provided; I, Quintus Iunius Theophilus, have made a pledge. Transacted at Herculaneum. {List of witnesses.}

(Camodeca (2000) 72–73 = *TH* 4)

This wax tablet documents the careful arrangements needed to ensure the equitable transfer of produce when ownership of a farm changed hands. Originally, Tetteius Severus and Iunius Theophilus appear to have owned the Blandian farm jointly, but that ownership is now being transferred in its entirety to Theophilus. He pledges, however, that Severus may continue to claim profit from his part of the farm and to remove from it anything that he owned, and to continue to use the wine store for an extra period of time. The document confirms a verbal contract, sealed by seven witnesses; Theophilus himself appeared at the head and finish of the witness list, and his personal commitment to the agreement was reflected by the fact that he wrote out the document in his own hand.

CONSUMPTION: FOOD AND DRINK **(H20–33)**

H20 Bar advertisement at Pompeii

Hedone says, ‘You can drink here for one as, if you give two, you will drink better; if you give four, you will drink Falernian’.

(*CIL* IV 1679)

This was written in the bar to the left of the entrance to house VII.ii.45.

H21a Paintings of a bar, Pompeii

Give a drop of cold.

(>*CIL*> IV 1291)

Another cup of Setinan (wine).

(CIL IV 1292)

Two paintings from a bar (VI.x.19.1) include what amount to ‘speech bubbles’ spoken by characters in the pictures. They depict everyday scenes: the first picture (H21a) shows a soldier being served wine by a slave; the second (H21b), a man in a toga holding out his cup for a refill.

H22 Wine-selling at Herculaneum



Plate 8.1 Wine-selling at Heraculaneum (VI.14)

At the cooking-pots.

4 asses
per sextarius

3 asses
per sextarius

4 asses
per sextarius

2 asses
per sextarius
(AE (1989) 182a)

Next to the entrance to a shop on the *decumanus maximus* in Herculaneum is a painted sign depicting four jugs, below each of which appear numbers

indicating different prices for the different qualities of wine that could be purchased there. The prices are given in asses per *sextarius* (i.e. 0.545 litre). Compare [H80](#).

**H23 *Thermopolium* on the *decumanus maximus* at
Herculaneum (VI.19)**



Plate 8.2 Thermopolium on the decumanus maximus at Herculaneum (VI.19)

H24 Bakery at Pompeii



Plate 8.3 Bakery at Pompeii

COUNTING THE COSTS (H25–28)

H25 List of food bought/sold?

			On the <i>Ides</i>
7	days before the <i>Ides</i> , cheese 1 bread 8 oil 3 wine 3	For Servatus [unknown item] oil 1 <i>denarius</i> , 8 bread 4, cheese 4	plain bread 2 oil 5 porridge 3 small fish 2
6	days before the <i>Ides</i> bread 8 olive 5 onion 5 cooking pot 1 bread for slaves 2 wine 2	leek 1, for a small plate 1 [two unknown items] 2 days before the <i>Ides</i> , bread 2 bread for slaves 2	
5	days before the <i>Ides</i> , bread 8 bread for slaves 4	1 day before the <i>Ides</i> , bread for slaves 2 plain bread 2	

	porridge 3	leek 1
4	days before the <i>Ides</i> , wine {unknown type} 1 <i>denarius</i> bread 8, wine 2, cheese 2	
3	days before the <i>Ides</i> {unintelligible} bread 2 female? 8	
	wheat 1 <i>denarius</i> beef? 1, dates 1 incense 1, cheese	
2	small sausage 1 soft cheese 4 oil 7	

(CIL IV 5380)

This long list of products was found in the *atrium* of IX.vii.24–5 at Pompeii, which a doorway connected to a bar with a serving counter. The list (written in three unequal columns), which is divided up into individual days, records food either sold or bought. The numbers are probably prices in asses, except where the symbol for *denarius* (= 16 *asses*) occurs.

H26 An individual's expenditure

firewood	
steward/land-agent?	4
bread	6
cabbage	2
beetroot	1
mustard	1
mint	1
salt	1

(CIL IV 4888)

This records expenditure from an individual. It is one of two adjacent graffiti (with CIL IV 4889) in a bedroom from VII.ii.30, listing expenses.

H27 A list in the Large Palaestra, II.ii, at Pompeii

Pompeii

[...]	3½ asses
p(ound?) of lard	3 asses
wine	1 as
cheese	1 as
oil	1 as
bread	2½ asses
pork	4 asses

(CIL IV 8561)

H28 Expenditure on a tunic, Herculaneum, *ins. Or. II, 10*

11 September, for a tunic: 1 *denarius*, 7 *asses*.

(CIL IV 10664)

This may record the price of purchasing, or perhaps of cleaning a tunic. The graffito was found low down on the interior wall of a shop.

FOOD PRODUCTS AT POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM: TABLES 8.1–8.4 (H29–33)

The tables on the next few pages attempt to provide a summary of the evidence for plants and animals used as food products at Pompeii and Herculaneum. In each case the products are arranged alphabetically by their common name. The summary is very largely dependent on evidence collected in *The Natural History of Pompeii*, edited by Jashemski and Meyer (Cambridge University Press, 2002, but very expensive and now out of print), so column 2 refers to chapter and entry number in this marvellous work where fuller details can be found of the material evidence at Pompeii and elsewhere. This evidence lies in many forms; material remains such as bones, shells, seeds, and other non-biodegradable parts of natural products were completely ignored throughout most of the history of the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, but are now carefully analysed and identified. Pompeians loved decorating their houses with scenes from nature, and hundreds of wall-paintings and mosaics depict plants and animals in detail accurate enough for them to be identified. Although paintings of fruit in bowls or ‘hung’ birds exist, the depiction of a plant or animal does not automatically prove its use as a food. This is where literary evidence helps: Pliny the Elder’s monumental *Natural History* in 35 ‘books’ contains information on animals (book 8), sea creatures (9), birds (10), trees (12–17, with book 15 on fruit-trees), crops (18–19), herbs (22), while further books deal with medicinal uses of plants, trees and animals. Pliny is of the greatest use as a contemporary and local source,

even though his scientific knowledge is often at fault and his method is to report the findings of other writers, such as the agricultural manuals of Varro (written in 37 BC) and Columella (who wrote AD c.60–65) rather than his own research. Another contemporary source is provided by the poet Martial's *Xenia*, a book of two-line epigrams, meant to accompany gifts of food; this is now known as his book 13, and was published within a few years of the eruption of Vesuvius. Finally, the Roman Cookbook, attributed to Apicius, but almost certainly a collection of recipes from various periods provides some evidence for products found at Pompeii and Herculaneum appearing on the Roman dinner table.

H29 List of fruit and nuts

See [Table 8.1a](#).

H29b List of grains and vegetables

See [Table 8.1b](#).

H30 List of animals reared for meat

See [Table 8.2](#).

H31 List of birds reared or caught for meat

See [Table 8.3](#).

H32a Fish mosaic from the House of the Faun, Pompeii

See [Plate 8.4](#).

H32b Drawing of fish from mosaic, House of the Faun

See [Figure 8.1](#).

H33 List of fish and seafood

See [Table 8.4](#).

[Table 8.1a](#) List of fruit and nuts (H29)

<i>Product</i>	<i>NHP</i>	<i>Remains</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Pliny, NH</i>	<i>Apicius Cookbook</i>	<i>Other sources</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Almond	6.132	✓	✓	15.90	2.2.10, 6.2.15-6, etc.	Col 11.2.11, 96, Col <i>Tras</i> 22.1, 25.1	
Apple	6.89	✓	✓	15.50-2	1.18, 1.20, etc.		
Blackberry	6.145	✓	✓	15.97, 24.117	1.22		
Cherry, eating	6.129		✓	15.102-4		<i>GI</i> IV 2562	Imported to Rome c.70 BC
Cherry	6.130	✓		15.102-4	1.20		Cooking cherry
Chestnut	6.34	E9	?	15.92-3	5.2.2		
Date	6.117	E9	✓	13.26-50	5.2.10-12, etc.	H25	Imported (does not fruit in Italy) Poor man's gift Martial 13.27
Fig	6.34	E9	✓	15.68-73, etc.	1.20, etc.	H14-15, H47	Staple fruit. Martial 13.28
Grape	6.183	✓	✓	14.8-92	1.17	H5-13	Staple product. Martial 13.22
Hazelnut	6.42	E9	✓	15.38-9	5.2.15-6, 7.11.4		
Lemon	6.40		✓	13.103	1.21		Martial 13.37
Mulberry	6.98		✓	15.97	1.22		
Myrtle	6.100	✓	✓	15.110-126	1.24, 2.1.7, etc.		Berries for wine, oil, decoration
Peach	6.133	✓	✓	15.45	1.26, 4.2.34		Recent import
Pear	6.136	✓	✓	15.53-8	1.20, 4.2.35		
Pine nuts	6.120	E9			V. freq 2.3.2, etc.	Col <i>Tras</i> 22.3; C10	From umbrella pine. Martial 13.25
Plum	6.134		✓	15.41-3	1.20, etc.		Martial 13.25
Pomegranate	6.135	✓	✓	13.112-3	1.18		Also used in tanning leather
Quince	6.46		✓	15.37-8	1.19, etc.		Martial 13.24
Strawberry	6.56		✓	15.96, 21.66			
Walnut	6.72	E9	✓	15.80-8	5.3.3		

NB: Oranges, though now ubiquitous around the Bay of Naples were not introduced to Europe until the Middle Ages.

Table 8.1b List of grains and vegetables (H29b)

<i>Product</i>	<i>NHP</i>	<i>Remains</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Isocr.</i>	<i>Pliny, NH</i>	<i>Apicius Cookbook</i>	<i>Notes</i>
GRAIN							
Barley	6.96	✓		H47	18.72-80	4.4.1-2, 5.5.1-2	Martial 13.11
Emmer wheat	6.172	✓	✓	H25, H47	18.61-2, 92		Bread
Millet, common	6.111	✓	✓	D113, H25 (porridge)	18.100		For bread and porridge. Campanian millet especially valued (Pliny)
Millet, Italian	6.150	✓	✓		18.53-4		
Oat	6.18	✓			18.149	No	Only used as animal fodder
VEGETABLES							
Asparagus	6.16		✓		19.145-50,	3.3, 4.2.5, 4.2.6	Martial 13.21
Beetroot	6.19			H26	19.132-135	3.2, 3.11, 4.4.2	Leaves for food; root for medicine.
Broad bean	6.178	✓		<i>CI</i> 4.5430	18.117	5.3.5-7	Delicacy. Martial 13.7
Cabbage	6.21			H17, H26	19.136-141	3.9, 4.4.2	Pompeian speciality (Pliny 19.140, Martial 13.17)
Carrot (wild)	6.50	✓			25.111	3.21.1-3	
Chickpea	6.39	✓		H47	18.124-5	4.4.2, 5.8.1-2	A staple food (Flor. Sat. 1.6.115)
Garlic	6.7	✓		<i>CI</i> 4.5246	19.111-6	Not used	Medicine NH 20.50-7
Gourd	6.74		✓		19.69-74	3.4, 4.5.3	
Leek	6.6	✓		H25	19.108-10	3.10.1-4, etc.	Martial 13.18-19
Lentil	6.81	✓		H47	18.123	4.4.2, 5.2.1-3	Martial 13.9
Lupin	6.87			H47	18.135-6		Fodder and food
Mushroom	6.99		✓		22.92-9	7.15.1-6	Exact types can't be identified
Olive	6.106	✓	✓	H25, H47, H51	15.1-21	1.28	Staple product. Martial 13.35
Onion	6.5	✓	✓	H16, H25	19.101-7	Often. 2.3.2	Martial 13.34
Pea	-	✓			18.123	4.4.2, 5.3.1-9	
Poppay	6.115		✓		19.167-9	(<i>Cato RR</i> 73)	Flower, medicine (opium) and seed
Radish	6.142		✓		19.83-5	Once 5.14	
Turnip	6.22	see note	✓		18.126-30	1.24, 3.13, 6.2.3	Sample prob. lost in Naples Mus.

Table 8.2 Evidence at Pompeii and Herculaneum for animals reared for meat (H30)

<i>Product</i>	<i>NHP</i>	<i>Reveries</i>	<i>Art</i>	<i>Insects</i>	<i>Writers on agriculture</i>	<i>Pliny, NH</i>	<i>Apicius Cookbook</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Deer (venison)	17.12	✓	✓		Col 9.1.3	8.112–119	8.2.1–7	Martial 13.96
Dormouse	17.26	✓			Var 3.3.3–4, 3.12.2, 3.15.1–2	8.223–5	8.9	Well-known delicacy. Jars found for keeping mice
Goat	17.9	✓	✓		Col 7.6	8.200–204	8.3.1–3, 8.6.1–11	Most milk was probably goat-milk. Martial 13.39
Hare	17.28	✓	✓		Col 9.1.3, Var 3.3.2, 3.12.1–3	8.217–219	8.8.1–13	Delicacy: Martial 13.92
Ox (beef, veal)	17.5	✓	✓	H25, CH 4.5131	Col 6.1–26; ox as domestic animal	8.176–183	8.5.1–4	Relatively rare, mostly veal. Oxen kept for ploughing not milk or meat
Sheep (lamb, mutton)	17.38	✓	✓	CH 4.5450	Col 7.2–5	8.187–199	8.4.1–3, 8.6.1–11	Also for wool, milk, cheese
Pig (pork)	17.46	✓	✓	H27, H32	Col 7.9–11	8.205–212	8.1.1–10, 8.7.1–17, etc.	Commonest meat. Piglet a luxury – Martial 13.41

For cheese, see [H25](#) and Columella, On Agriculture 7.8 (a digression, just after description of sheep and goats).

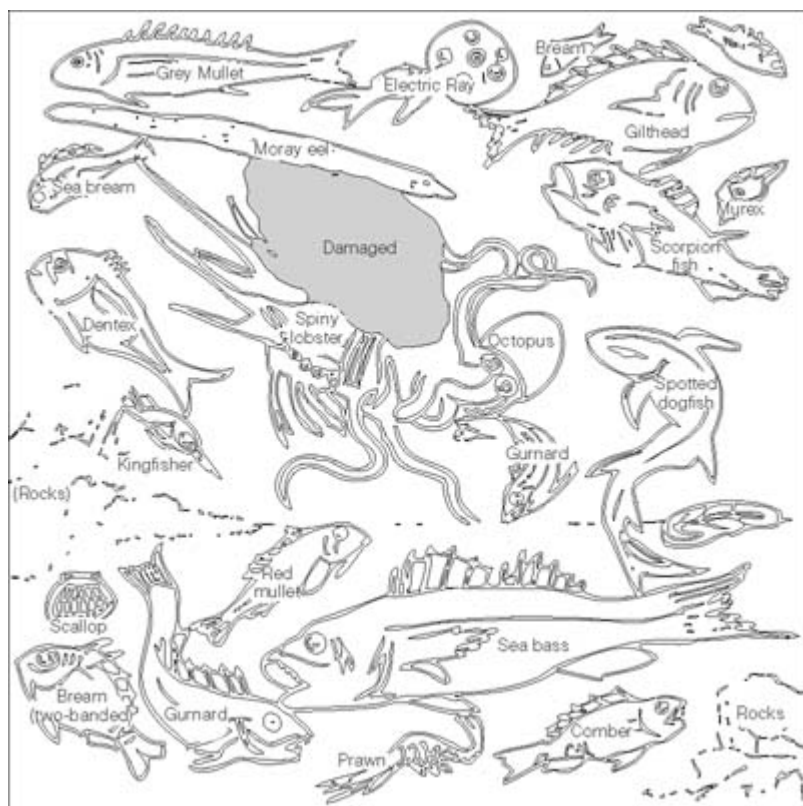
Table 8.3 Evidence at Pompeii and Herculaneum for birds reared or caught for meat (H31)

<i>Product</i>	<i>NHP</i>	<i>Reveries</i>	<i>Paintings/ mosaics</i>	<i>Farming writers</i>	<i>Pliny, NH</i>	<i>Apicius Cookbook</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Chicken	16.36	✓	✓	Col 8.2–7	10.46–50	6.0.1–15	Chicken-keeper – H82 Common – Martial 13.45
Duck	16.9	✓	✓	Col 8.15	10.155	6.2.1–6	(quail?) – Martial 13.52
Goose	16.11	✓	✓	Col 8.13–14	10.51–3, 55, 162	6.2.16, 6.7	Martial 13.58. Statues in House of Vettii garden. Geese also for feathers
Guineafowl	16.45		✓	Col 8.12	10.74		Martial 13.73
Partridge (rock)	16.5	✓	✓		10.100–3	6.2.7–9	Often shown hung in paintings. Luxury food – Martial 13.65, 76
Pheasant	16.51		✓	Col 8.11	10.45, 161	2.2.4	Martial 13.70
Pheasant	16.52		✓		10.132	2.2.4, 2.5.4	Martial 13.72
Pigeon	16.22	✓	✓	Col 8.8	10.158	6.2.16, 6.4	Martial 13.66
Pigeon (wood)	16.23		✓	Col 8.8.1	10.104–110	6.2.16, 6.2.13	Martial 13.67
Quail	16.27	✓	✓	Var 3.5.7	10.64–9		Not much eaten – Pliny
Song thrush	16.89		✓	Col 8.10	10.72–3, 80	5.3.2, 5.3.3, 8.7.14	Peconius 40; Martial 13.51. Alive and dead in paintings
Turtle dove	16.62	✓	✓	Col 8.9	10.105, 158	6.2.7, 6.2.9, 6.2.13	Martial 13.53. Alive and dead in paintings

Eggs of all types formed an important part of the Roman diet. Pliny describes rearing of various fowl for eggs at 10.144–151, Columella in his description of the type of bird, and at 8.6. Around half of Apicius' recipes include eggs, and 'from egg to apple' was a well-known Latin proverb, meaning 'from start to finish', taken from the courses of a Roman meal.



Plate 8.4 Fish mosaic from the House of the Faun, Pompeii (MANN inv. 9997) (H32a)



FISH SAUCE (*GARUM* AND *HALLEX*) (H34–46)

H34 Pompeii's fame for *garum*

Furthermore, there is another type of choice fluid, called *garum*, produced from the guts of fish and anything else that would have been discarded, steeped in salt – in other words, it is the fermentation of decaying matter–. These days, the most popular *garum* is made from the mackerel in the fisheries of New Carthage (it is called *garum* of the allies), and around twelve pints costs 1,000 sesterces. Almost no fluid except for perfume begins to fetch a greater price, bringing fame to the countries of origin– Clazomenae too is praised for its *garum*, as are Pompeii and Leptis–

The waste product of *garum*, its dregs, neither processed nor strained, is *hallex*. It has begun to be produced separately from a tiny fish of no other use–. Then it became a luxury and has increased into countless types, just as *garum* can be diluted to the colour of old honeyed wine and to such a pleasant taste that it can be drunk.

(Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 31.93–94)

See also [E98](#) for kosher fish sauce.

H35 *Garum* at Pompeii

First-rate mackerel sauce of Marcus Acceius Telemachus

(GC no. 227)

This label is painted on an *amphora*.

H36 *Garum* at Herculaneum

Finest fish sauce.

(*CIL* IV 10737)

This label was found on a small fish-sauce container (*urceus* type VI), found in V.19. Compare *CIL* IV 10743, from IV.21.

H37 *Hallex*

Finest *hallex*.

(*CIL* IV 5717–18 = *ILS* 8598)

On *hallex*, see [H34](#).

Table 8.4 Evidence for types of fish and seafood eaten at Pompeii and Herculaneum (H33)

<i>Predict</i>	<i>NHP</i>	<i>Reviews</i>	<i>Fauna mosaic H32</i>	<i>Mosaic at 8.2.16</i>	<i>Other at</i>	<i>Pliny, NH</i>	<i>Apicius Cookbook: Notes</i>
Anchovy	12.5	✓				(9.160), 31.95	Used to make <i>garum</i> (see H34–46)
Bream, Gilt-head, etc.	12.20	✓	✓	✓	✓	32.145	Frequently farmed (Col <i>PR</i> 8.16).
Cockles	13.21	✓					Shells used in decoration
Crab	13.47				✓	9.57–9, 32.131–5	Pliny on behaviour and medical uses
Cuttlefish	13.45				✓	9.84	9.4.1–4 Bath mosaic at Herculaneum
Dogfish	12.19	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.145	
Eels	12.5	✓	✓	✓		9.74–7, 171f	10.2.1–6 Commonly kept in Roman fishponds
Electric Ray	12.19	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.57, 73	9.2.1–2
Hake	12.10	✓			✓	9.61	12.13 Delicacy; Pliny, Mart 13.9.2
Lobster	13.51		✓	✓		9.97–9	9.1.1–6
Mackerel	12.16	✓			✓	9.49, 31.94	For <i>garum</i> , see H34–46 . Col 8.17.12
Mullet (grey)	12.11	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.29–32, 59	9.10.6–7, etc.
Mullet (red)	12.12	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.64–7	10.1.11–2, etc. Very highly prized (e.g. Suet <i>Tib</i> 54); Col. 8.17.7; Sen. <i>AQ</i> 3.17.2; Martial 13.79
Murex	13.11	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.125–40	As purple dye and food – Martial 13.87
Mussel	13.27	✓				32.93, 111 (medicine)	3.20.1–7, 9.9, etc. Martial 3.60 (served to less important guests)
Octopus	13.44		✓	✓	✓	9.65–7	9.5
Oyster	13.28	✓				9.168–9, 32.59–64	1.12, 9.6 Farmed (Pliny) and Col 8.16.7; Martial 3.60 (served to the host)
Plaice	12.14	✓				9.57	–
Prawn	13.49		✓			11.132	2.1.1, 3 Martial 13.83
Sardine	12.3	✓					9.10.1–4
Scallop	13.29	✓	✓		✓	32.71, 103	1.29 Farmed Col 8.16.7. Medicine (Pliny). Shells also as containers
Sea bass	12.13	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.61	Highly prized (Pliny). Martial 13.89
Sea perch	12.18	✓	✓	✓	✓	9.57, 32.107	10.1.15
Sea urchin	13.54	✓			✓	9.100, 32.53	9.8.1–5, etc. Martial 13.66
Squid	13.43	No		✓			9.2.1–2, etc. (No hard parts, so no remains possible)
Tuna	12.16	✓				9.47–8	9.10.5, etc. Also used to make <i>garum</i>
Wrasse	12.9	✓			✓	32.94 (medicine)	8.2–8 Martial 13.64

Pompeii was well known for its fish-salting industry, especially its production of *garum*, on which see **H34–46**. Nonetheless no site for preparation of the products in the last years of the town has been found inside or outside the town. Recently, however, several vats used for small-scale fish-salting in the second century BG have been identified in excavations carried out by the University of Cincinnati and Steven Ellis in the north-east corner of the town. This area has long been identified as the Vicus Saliniensis (Salt District – see **F24**) and the gate now called Herculaneum Gate was actually known as ‘Salt Gate’ (**B6**). All the sites had been converted to other uses long before AD 79, presumably as a result of economic changes.

UMBRICIUS SCAURUS' FISH SAUCE (H38–46)

A local producer, Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, dominated the market for fish sauce (*garum*) at Pompeii from Neronian times until the eruption. Inscriptions painted upon small one-handled pottery vessels (*urcei*) containing the sauce

reveal that he ran a number of workshops. These were managed by members of his household; legible names include freedmen Umbricius Abascantus and Umbricius Agathopus, freedwoman Umbricia Fortunata and a slave, Eutyche (H42, H44, H43, H46). Over fifty of these containers have been found in Pompeii itself and its environs (e.g. the villas at Boscoreale and Boscotrecase). A unique choice of decorative scheme in his *atrium* also allows us to identify his house, a luxurious property (with a private bath-suite) to the west of the town overlooking the sea (VII, *Ins. Occ.* 12–15). Around his *impluvium* were found four larger-than-life, black-and-white mosaic depictions of fish-sauce vessels bearing promotional inscriptions (H32). Although others also included similar painted inscriptions on their vessels (H30–31), Scaurus took a bold step in representing them through art in one of the main reception areas of his house. His repeated claims for his sauce's excellence seem almost a modern style of advertising, which appears to have paid dividends. Around 30 per cent of inscriptions on fish-sauce containers in Campania relate to his workshops. One fish-sauce container inscribed with his name has even been found at Fos-sur-mer in southern France. Despite his commercial success, he suffered a blow by the early death of his son (of the same name), honoured by the town council (F107).

MOSAIC FISH-SAUCE VESSELS (H38)

H38a Mosaic fish-sauce vessel from Scaurus' house

See *Plate 8.5*.

H38b Text

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop

Finest fish purée

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce

Best fish purée from Scaurus' workshop

(*AE* (1992) 278a–d)

H39 The mosaic reflected by an actual fish-sauce vessel

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce.

(*CIL* IV 5682)

This label shows how closely the mosaic images imitate real fish-sauce vessels.



Plate 8.5 Mosaic fish-sauce vessel from Scaurus' house

H40 Another reflection of art by reality

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop.

(*CIL* IV 5694 = *ILS* 8599b)

This label on a real fish-sauce vessel also reflects the mosaic exactly.

H41 A promotional advert?

Best fish purée of Aulus Umbricius Scaurus.

(*CIL* IV 5711)

H42 Workshop of Umbricius Abascantus

Best finest mackerel sauce from the workshop of Aulus Umbricius Abascantus.

For similar labels, compare *CIL* IV 5671 = *ILS* 8599d.

H43 Eutyche's fish sauce

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce by Scaurus' Eutyche.
(*CIL* IV 2576)

**H44 Fish sauce found in the kitchen of IX.vii.16,
Pompeii**

Best essence, to Aulus Virnius Modestus from Agathopus.
(*CIL* IV 5712)

H45 Fish sauce found in an inn

Scaurus' finest mackerel sauce from Scaurus' workshop by Martial,
imperial freedman.
(*CIL* IV 9406)

H46 Umbricia Fortunata's fish sauce

Finest fish sauce from Umbricia Fortunata, belonging to Veturinus Iulianus.
(*CIL* IV 5675)

OTHER PRODUCTS (H47–51)

H47 Labelled contents of pottery vessels

See [Table 8.5](#).

LOTIONS AND POTIONS (H48–50)

Various pots carry labels showing they contained some sort of medicine. Gavia Severa perhaps specialized in this trade; as well as [H49–50](#) below, three other vessels have been found with her name, but no other description of contents.

<i>Product</i>	<i>Pot size</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>CIL IV</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Barley	Large	various houses	5745–60	Baked and salted
Bay	Large	?	6048	
Chick peas	Large	?	5728–9	Variety <i>columbinus</i>
		V.35, Herculaneum	10751	
Dried lees of wine	Medium	VI.xv.8	5730	Used as

Emmer	Large	V.35, Herculaneum	10751	condiment or medicine 'Apulian'
Fennel	Small	?	5731	
Figs	Small	?	2568	
Honey	Small	I.ii.23	10288	'Corsican 2 pounds'
Lentils	Large	VII.v-vi.15	6580	Label in Greek
Lupins	Large	I.vii.7 (under- stairs)	9420	Used as fodder and in medicine
Nuts	Small	VIII.v.9	5761	
Olives	Large	VII.ii.16	5598b	'In water'; found under <i>lararium</i>
	Small	II.iv.4	10292	
Pepper	Small	VIII.v.9	5763	
Pickling brine	Small	IX.viii.6 and V.iii.4 (garden)	5721-2	

Table 8.5 Labelled contents of pottery vessels

H48 North African lotion

Best lotion from donkey's milk from Utica.

(CIL IV 5738 = ILS 8596)

This label was found on an *urceus* in the peristyle of VIII.ii.14, Pompeii. Utica was a town on the North African coast.

H49 Label on *urceus*

Lotion of Gavia Severa.

(CIL IV 5737)

H50 Special honey

Honey of Gavia Severa from bees fed on thyme.

(CIL IV 5741)

This label was found on an *amphora* fragment in the peristyle of VII.vii.5, Pompeii.

PRICE OF MILLS AT POMPEII (H51)

H51 Pompeian olive mills

An olive mill is bought at Pompeii with its equipment for 384 sesterces; transporting it costs 280 sesterces; it is better for it to be prepared for use and assembled at home, which costs 60 sesterces: total cost is 724 sesterces.

(The Elder Cato, *On Agriculture* 22.3)

Marcus Porcius Cato Censorinus, 234–149 BC, was the leading politician and writer of his age. His only surviving work, *On Agriculture*, purports to be practical advice to the owner of a medium-sized estate. Here Cato discusses the expenses involved in buying an olive mill at Pompeii, later adding (135.2) that Pompeii is the best place to buy such an item.

COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS (H52–H57)

H52 A memento of one of Caesar's assassins

Publius Casca Longus.

(*AE* (2001) 800 = *AE* (1930) 123)

The name of its original owner, one of the assassins of Julius Caesar, appears at the top of the three table-legs on a table. It is to be surmised that the table was part of the property confiscated from P. Servilius Casca Longus after the ides of March 44 BC, was sold at auction, and at some point between then and AD 79 ended up at Pompeii.

H53 Collecting debts from a traitor, AD 66

In the consulship of Marcus Vettius Bolanus and Marcus Arruntius Aquila, on (?) before the nones of October, I, Tiberius Claudius Pierus, of quaestorian status, have written that I have received from Lucius Cominius Primus, in his absence via his slave Festus, 10,000 sesterces owed in accordance with the account-book of Gnaeus Sentius who has been condemned by decree of the Senate. Transacted [...].

{List of witnesses} (Seals) of Tiberius Claudius Pierus, of quaestorian status; Gaius Pomponius Adventus, of quaestorian status; Tiberius Claudius Syntrophus; Gaius Hortensius Felix; Titus Vibius Primus; Lucius Cratinus [–]; Tiberius Claudius Pierus, of quaestorian status.

(*AE* (2008) 361)

This document, written in the hand of Claudius Pierus, belonged to the archive of Cominius Primus at Herculaneum. It records the formal release from debt by Claudius Pierus of Cominius Primus, who was contracted to recover from Sentius' estate the money that Sentius owed to Pierus. It was perhaps drafted at Rome (given that the names of the witnesses listed are not otherwise known at Herculaneum), and relates to the aftermath of the treason trial of Cn. Sentius Saturninus (consul AD 41) in AD 66 (at some time between 2–6 October), perhaps in connection with a conspiracy against Nero. It takes the form of a handwritten document (chirograph) of Ti. Claudius Pierus; the heading is partially preserved (but not translated here). It seems likely that

Claudius Pierus had acted as an informer in the case of Saturninus and had perhaps been rewarded with quaestorian status (a notable honour for someone whose name implies that he may have been an imperial freedman or descended from one) and with some of Saturninus' confiscated property after his condemnation. This wax tablet thus illustrates in surprising detail the impact of treason trials at Rome even upon citizens of Herculaneum. Pierus has used Cominius Primus' professional services to retrieve money owing by Saturninus to him.

H54 Sale of a slave girl

...that [this] girl, who is mentioned above, is healthy, not charged with any theft or injurious conduct, and is not a runaway truant, is being handed over, and twice the price is being given, in accordance with the terms of the edict of the curule aediles, just as is customary, which in this year with regard to buying and selling slaves has been prescribed and provided for, that this is thus being correctly given and done, Calatoria has exacted a promise... Gaius Iulius Phoebus has pledged. [Transacted at Herculaneum, in the consulship of...]

(*AE* (2000) 333 = *TH* 60)

This is all that remains in ink on the exterior surface of a wax tablet found in Herculaneum during February 1931. The exact findspot is uncertain. It records the purchase of a slave girl by Calatoria (compare *TH* 59 – Camodeca (2000) 63–66), probably some time before AD 63/64.

H55 Sale of a slave, AD 63

... that this man who is healthy, not charged with any theft or injurious conduct, is being handed over, and, if anyone should recover possession of this man or any part of him, preventing Lucius Cominius Primus or his heir from having him so as to be permitted to make full use of and legally possess him, that the corresponding amount paid be rightly given, that these things, in accordance with usual custom, are handed over, Lucius Cominius Primus has exacted a promise, and Publius Cornelius Poppaeus Erastus has made a pledge.

Transacted on the Pompeian estate in the Arrian clay-pits of Poppaea Augusta on 8 May, in the consulship of Gaius Memmius Regulus and Lucius Verginius Rufus. {List of nine witnesses follows}.

(*TH* 61 = Camodeca (2000) 66–70)

This wax tablet, dating from 8 May AD 63, was found in the archive of Cominius Primus, in a *cubiculum* on the upper floor of a house in Herculaneum, V, 19–22. It documents the purchase of a slave, but incidentally also reveals the interesting information that Nero's wife, Poppaea, was the

owner of clay-pits near Pompeii. P. Cornelius Poppaeus Erastus, who is selling the slave, is probably the freedman manager of the clay-pits (*figlinae*). The opening lines of the document are badly damaged.

H56 Sale of the slave girl Olympias, AD 47

{Heading in ink} Sale document of the girl Olympias...

... and Lucius Venidius Ennychus has exacted a promise that this girl Olympias, about whom the transaction concerns, is healthy, not charged with any theft or injurious conduct, is not a runaway truant, is being handed over, and that twice the price is to be correctly given, according to standard procedure, just as is customary; Marcus Nonius Hermeros has made a pledge; before this day he handed over the girl Olympias, about whom the transaction concerns, to Lucius Venidius Ennychus. Transacted at Herculaneum, on 30 November in the consulship of Gnaeus Hosidius Geta and Gaius Volasenna Severus.

(*AE* (2000) 334 = *TH* 62)

This triptych (three tablets bound together to preserve a single document) was found as part of the archive of Venidius Ennychus (see above, introduction to [Chapter 7](#); see also [G1–4](#)).

H57 Claiming an inheritance, AD 43

Camerinus Antistius Vetus, praetor, at the request of Marcus Caecilius Primus, gave ownership of the estate which had belonged to Herennia Tertia, at her death, according to the tablets of her will in accordance with the (praetor's) edict, to Gnaeus Rocius Zeno, in his absence.

Transacted at ... days before the ides {i.e. 15} October, in the consulship of Quintus Curtius Rufus and Spurius Oppius.

(*AE* (2009) 224)

This triptych tablet was found in the archive belonging to the Herennii in the 'House of the Alcove' (*ins.* IV.3–4) at Herculaneum. It shows that Caecilius Primus, in his capacity as procurator, has travelled from Herculaneum to Rome in order to obtain an inheritance on behalf of Zeno by gaining a ruling from the urban praetor in the Forum Augustum. The document was witnessed by nine witnesses not local to Herculaneum. The date is some time between 8 and 14 October. (For other transactions involving the urban praetor at Rome, see [G3](#), [G10](#)). Herennia Tertia also appears in [H18](#).

MONEY-MAKING (H58–79)

H58a 'Salve lucrum' (hail, profit)



Plate 8.6 'Salve lucrum' (hail, profit)

H58b

Hail, profit.

(CIL X 874)

This is a paving inscription, prominently displayed in the entranceway to a house (VII.i.46) in Pompeii. It is a frank acknowledgement of the desirability of making money.

H59 Celebration of profit

Profit, joy.

(CIL X 875)

This appears in the *atrium* of a house in VI.xiv, Pompeii.

MONEY-LENDING AND USURY (H60–70)

H60 A loan agreement between Poppaea Note and Dicia Margaritis, AD 61

Poppaea Note, freedwoman of Priscus, has sworn that the slaves Simplex and Petrinus (or whatever their names are), are hers and that she owns them, and that these slaves are not pledged to anyone else, nor does she share them with anyone else; Dicia Margaritis has bought these slaves, each priced individually, for [1,450] sesterces and has received formal ownership of them from Poppea [Note, freedwoman] of Priscus, through the agency of her guardian Decimus Caprasius Ampliatus...

[... Dicia Margaris made an agreement with] Poppaea [Note, freedwoman] of Priscus, as follows: these slaves [... which Poppaea Note, freedwoman of Priscus,] has sold [to me, are to be returned to her, on condition that the money] loaned against the two [slaves in question is paid beforehand] in full to myself or to my heir, [or that she return it to me] in the course of events. If this [whole] sum [is not paid to me or to my heir] on 1 November next, [it is permitted to me or to my heir to sell] these slaves [in question] on 13 December next [...] at Pompeii in the Forum publicly in the daytime; and [neither] myself nor my heir [is to be held liable] to you because of that, unless it is then thought that this sale has been conducted with fraudulent intent.

If these slaves in question are sold for a lesser sum, [the balance, once the price has been deducted from the initial sum,] will be owed to myself or to my heir.

[But if] these slaves in question are sold [for a higher sum, the excess will be returned to you or to your] heir [...]

It is agreed between us that these slaves [are to be kept from henceforth] at your expense, cost, and risk [...Dicia] Margaris, Poppaea Note, freedwoman of Priscus, [through the agency of] guardian [Decimus Caprasius Ampliatus].

In addition to these things, they agreed between them [the things that have been agreed upon] separately between themselves. Transacted at Pompeii, [...] in the consulship of Lucius Iunius Caesennius [Paetus] and Publius Calvisius Ruso {i.e. AD 61}.

(CIL IV 3340.155)

Two wax tablets (CIL IV 3340.154–5) wrapped up in cloth were found, together with some silver vessels weighing about 3 kilograms in all, in the furnace area of the Palaestra Baths (VIII.ii.23–4) at Pompeii. They relate to a business deal between two women dating to AD 61. A freedwoman, Poppaea Note, has borrowed money from Dicia Margaris. As security, she has temporarily transferred ownership of two slaves to her creditor, on condition that if she defaults on paying back the loan by a certain date, then Dicia Margaris can sell the slaves at auction. This second tablet relates to the temporary transferral of the slaves. The careful preservation of the tablets implies that Poppaea Note did default on payment, and that Dicia Margaris kept the record of the original transaction to prove that she had acted legally in selling the slaves.

MONEY-LENDING BY FAUSTILLA (H61–63)

Usury is the practice of lending money at interest. Three records survive relating to a woman called Faustilla, which give us a picture of how the practice worked. It is unclear whether she engaged in money-lending as her sole occupation, but the evidence suggests that she offered loans on a regular

basis. The first records the usury (interest) to be paid on two modest sums. The second and third add the details that items of some value had to be deposited with the money-lender, who could sell them if the borrower defaulted. One *denarius* was worth 16 *asses*. The rate of interest in the first transaction was 3.75 per cent; in the third, 3.125 per cent. These figures are probably monthly rates of interest. The graffiti were perhaps intended to remind the debtor of what had been pawned, when, and how much interest was being charged, acting as a sort of contract.

H61 Small cash loans

8 February. Vettia, 20 *denarii*: usury 12 *asses*. 5 February from Faustilla, 15 *denarii*: usury 8 *asses*.

(CIL IV 4528)

This graffito was found in an inn, VI.xiv.28, at Pompeii.

H62 Clothing deposited with the money-lender

4 July. Hooded cloak and small cloak [deposited with Fau]stilla. Per 50 [...] usury [...] 14½ [...] 8 *asses*.

(CIL IV 8204)

This graffito, found in the south-east corner of a bedroom in I.viii.13 at Pompeii, records the deposit of clothing as security against a loan received from Faustilla, a form of pawn-broking.

H63 Jewellery deposited with money-lender

15 July. Earrings deposited with Faustilla. Per two *denarii* she took as usury one copper *as*. From a total? 30.

(CIL IV 8203)

This graffito was found to the right of [H62](#).

ARCHIVE OF L. COMINIUS PRIMUS (INS. V. 19–22), HERCULANEUM (H64–67)

The wax tablets found in the archive of Cominius Primus illustrate the varied financial and legal affairs of a single businessman in the decades leading up to the town's destruction. Some of his transactions were with leading individuals in Roman society, such as Sentius Saturninus ([H53](#)) and Ulpia Plotina ([H65](#)), who could draw upon their immense wealth, while others were with fellow-townfolk at Herculaneum ([H64](#)). He both borrowed money himself and also lent cash to others, acting as a financial middleman. Some of the tablets

record loans made by Cominius Primus from the cash-chest in his house (H66). It was usual for such loans to be made both by private lenders and by professionals like Cominius Primus.

H64 Cash loan, AD 67

{Heading} Handwritten document of Decimus Laelius Euphrosynus, 20,000 sesterces on 4 November in the consulship of Gallus and Severus.

In the consulship of Appius Annius Gallus and Lucius Verulanus Severus, on 4 November, I, Decimus Laelius Euphrosynus have written that I owe to Lucius Cominius Primus 20,000 sesterces, which I received as a cash loan from him, and Lucius Cominius Primus has promised that these 20,000 sesterces mentioned above are duly paid in good coin.

I, Decimus Laelius Euphrosynus, have given a guarantee. Transacted at Herculeaneum.

{List of witnesses} (Seals) of Decimus Laelius Euphrosynus, Marcus Volusius Maturus, Quintus Iunius Seundus, [...], Decimus Laelius Euphrosynus.

(*AE* (1993) 460 = *TH* 42)

The traces of ink-writing deciphered on this triptych record debts owed by D. Laelius Euphrosynus, possibly a freedman, to Cominius Primus on 4 November 67.

H65 Receipt for partial repayment by Cominius Primus of a loan, AD 69

In the consulship of Gnaeus Arrius Antoninus and Aulus Marius Celsus, on 19 July, I, Venustus, slave of Ulpia Plotina, daughter of Marcus, have written that I have received 1,000 *denarii* from Lucius Cominius Primus to pay off what is owed from 15,000 *denarii*.

Transacted at Herculeaneum.

{List of witnesses} (Seals) of Venustus slave of Plotina, Gaius Iulius Spendo, Marcus Volusius Maturus, Marcus Ulpius Moschio; Venustus slave of Plotina.

(*AE* (1993) 461 = *TH* 52 + 90,5 = *AE* (1991) 477)

This triptych from 19 July AD 69 records a receipt received from the slave Venustus in acknowledgement of the partial repayment of a debt of 15,000 *denarii* contracted by Cominius Primus with Ulpia Plotina, who was a relation (probably the aunt?) of the future emperor Trajan. It is one of seven receipts written by her slaves and freedmen relating to their financial dealings, showing repayments continuing during AD 70/71. Ulpius Moschio may be Plotina's freedman *procurator*, supervising her financial affairs.

H66 Cash loan to Pompeia Anthis, AD 59

Tablet of Lucius Cominius Primus recording that 1,000 sesterces have been paid out to Pompeia Anthis, on the authority of her guardian Gaius Vibius Erytus. He {i.e. Erytus} made the request and received the cash at home from the money chest.

Received from the money chest 1,000 sesterces. These 1,000 sesterces written above, at the questioning of Lucius Cominius Primus, Gaius Vibius Erytus on behalf of Pompeia Anthis ordered that they be on his good faith and at his risk, in addition to the other tablets for 10,000 sesterces.

Transacted at Herculaneum on 12 May in the consulship of Gaius Fonteius Capito and Gaius Vipstanus Apronianus.

{List of witnesses with seals follows.}

(*AE* (1993) 462a = *TH* 70 + 71)

This tablet records a cash payment made on 12 May AD 59. The woman taking out the loan, Pompeia Anthis, is legally required to operate via her guardian, who in this instance also acts as guarantor.

H67 Cash loan to Nonius Fuscus, with slaves as security, AD 62

Tablet of Lucius Cominius Primus recording that 600 sesterces have been paid out to Marcus Nonius Fuscus; he himself {i.e. Fuscus} made the request and received the cash at home from the money chest. Received from the money chest 600 sesterces. In view of the security represented by the slave girl Nais, in addition to the other 1,300 sesterces, in view of the security represented by the slave woman Primigenia.

Transacted at Herculaneum on 20 January in the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Aferius Gallus.

{Witness list} (Seals) of Numerius Blaesus Saturninus, Gaius Clodius Celer, Marcus Nonius Fuscus, Lucius Numisius Successus, Marcus Nonius Cypaerus, Gaius Vibius Thallus, Marcus Nonius Satyrus, Gnaeus Pollius Ianuarius, Marcus Calatorius Priscillus.

(*AE* (1993) 462b = *TH* 74)

This records a cash payment made on 20 January AD 62, with two named slaves, Nais and Primigenia, being used as security for the loan.

ARCHIVE OF VENIDIUS ENNYCHUS, HERCULANEUM (H68–70)

H68 A loan agreement, AD 40

In the consulship of Marcus Cluvius(?) and Marcus Furnius Augurinus, [-] calends of December. I, Lucius Mammius(?) Rufus, have written that I have taken out a loan and that I owe to Lucius Venidius Ennychus 1,800 sesterces and that Lucius Venidius Ennychus has promised that these above-mentioned 1,800 sesterces are duly paid in good coin. I, Lucius Mammius(?) Rufus have given a guarantee. Transacted at Herculaneum.

(*AE* (2002) 340)

This diptych is the oldest document in the archive, from 14 to 30 November AD 40/41. It illustrates that money-lending was not an activity only of professional bankers, such as the Sulpicii at Puteoli, known from the Murecine archive. The name Mammius here is not completely preserved, but is offered as a possibility.

H69 Receipt for debt repayment, AD 52

In the consulship of Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix and Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus, 8 March. I, Marcus Volusius Crescens have written that I have received from Lucius Venidius Ennychus...

(Witness list) Seals of Marcus Volusius Crescens; Marcus Nonius Iucun[dus]; [-] Memor; [-] A[-] Marcus Volusius Crescens.

(*AE* (2002) 341 = *TH* 44)

This fragmentary diptych contains a receipt for payment of debts, 8 March AD 52, by M. Volusius Crescens, who had received a loan from Venidius Ennychus.

H70 An illiterate's document, AD 59

In the consulship of Gaius Vipstanus Apronianus and Gaius Fonteius Capito, 21 April, I, Quintus Sallustius Inventus, have written at the request and instruction of Marcus Nonius Ampliatus in his presence because he said he does not know his letters... {A list of seven witnesses follows, ending with Sallustius and then Ampliatus.}

(*AE* (2002) 342 = *TH* 45)

This is part of a diptych, dating to 21 April AD 59. Q. Sallustius Inventus is known from *CIL* X 1403g to have been a freedman, and is here writing on behalf of the illiterate Nonius Ampliatus.

THEFT (H71–72)

H71 Recovering stolen property

A bronze urn has disappeared from the shop.

If anyone returns it, he shall be given 65 sesterces.
If he brings the thief [... the rest illegible]

(CIL IV 64)

This is a graffito of Republican date.

H72 A guard-dog

Beware of the dog.

(CIL X 877)

The words *cave canem* appear on a black-and-white mosaic next to an image of a fierce-looking dog, on the threshold at the main entrance to the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.viii.3). Mosaic dogs guard the entrances to other houses, too, such as the House of Caecilius Iucundus (V.i.26), and a plaster-cast has captured the struggles of a chained-up dog to escape during the eruption.

PROPERTY RENTAL (H73–74)

H73 Estate of Julia Felix (II.iv.2), Pompeii

To let, in the estate of Julia Felix, daughter of Spurius: elegant baths for respectable people, shops with upper rooms, and apartments. From 13 August next to 13 August of the sixth year, for five continuous years. The lease will expire at the end of the five years.

(CIL IV 1136 = ILS 5723)

The large town-block (*insula*) near the Amphitheatre (II.iv.2), which is now occupied by the ‘estate of Julia Felix’, was originally taken up by two *insulae* roughly equal in size. During the last years before the eruption, the area was completely reshaped, and it was at this time that the bath complex advertised below was built. For other private baths, see **D125**. Along with **H74**, this rental notice shows how income could be derived from urban property. The final phrase is highly abbreviated (with only the initial letters of each word), and its meaning not certain, but likely from the context.

H74 *Insula Arriana Polliana* (VI.vi.1), Pompeii

To let from 1 July next in the *Insula Arriana Polliana*, now owned by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius: shops with upper rooms, quality apartments and houses. Lessees contact Primus, slave of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius.

(CIL IV 138 = ILS 6035)

This painted notice shows clearly that one of the most prominent individuals

in Pompeii (**D24–29**) was involved in making money out of property rental, shortly before the eruption. His use of his slave as an agent is typical (see also **H18**, **H65**, **H102**, **H104–H105**, **H108**). Compare the role of freedmen and freedwomen in commerce on behalf of their patrons **D125**, **H42**, **H46**, **H55**, **H78**).

SCHOOLING (H75–76)

The following were found on one of the columns of the Large Palaestra (II.ii, column 18). They imply that this was the location of a school, **H75** being the earliest known school policy document and **H76** a list of boys who had paid their fees. Horace (*Satires* 1.6.75) suggests that schoolboys would pay 8 *asses* each month.

H75 A teacher's aims?

Whoever has paid me the fee for teaching, let him have what he seeks from the gods.

(CIL IV 8562)

H76 Payment of school fees?

Atilius 1 *as*

Atilius 1 *as*

Atilius 1 *as*

Albanus 1 *as*

Albanus 1 *as*

Albanus 1 *as*

Albanus 2 *asses*

Agathemerus 2 *asses*

Acathemenus 1 *as*

Acanthus

(CIL IV 8565)

PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS (H77–79)

In a few cases, we can trace some of the sources of wealth of prominent members of the elite, whose names loom large on the town's monumental inscriptions. It is unlikely that any of them relied solely upon a single source of income, but they all probably owned significant tracts of land beyond the town walls, which could raise revenue both through exploiting natural resources and through agricultural cultivation and processing.

EUMACHIA'S WEALTH

(H77–78)

Some of Eumachia's wealth, which enabled her to act as such a generous benefactor of the town ([E55–66](#)), was derived from the business activities of her father, Lucius Eumachius. His name has been found stamped upon several bricks and roof-tiles found in the town and surrounding area (*CIL* X 8042.47). His business interests apparently extended well beyond Pompeii; his name also appears on wine *amphorae* (Dressel 2–4) found in the Fos Gulf (south of France), Carthage (North Africa), Ampurias (Spain) and Alésia (France). These inscriptions probably relate to the manufacturing of the *amphorae* themselves rather than to wine production. The theory that Eumachia's family was heavily engaged in sheepfarming and wool production relies chiefly upon the fact that she was patron of the fullers ([E57](#), which does not actually state that she is their patron) and upon the conjecture that her building on the Forum was a wool market.

H77 Roof-tile

Of Lucius Eumachius.

(*AE* (1996) 302a)

This stamp was found on roof-tiles (dating from *c.* 50–25 BC) used in a villa at modern Scafati just to the south-east of Pompeii.

H78 Roof-tile

Of Lucius Eumachius Eros.

(*CIL* X 8042.48)

This name stamped on some roof-tiles may belong to a freedman of the family.

HOLCONII (H79)

It seems likely that the Holconii ([D54](#), [D56–58](#), [F93](#)) were connected with viticulture, and that the Horconian vine was named after them ([H5](#)). In addition, the name of a Holconia appears stamped upon a roof-tile ([H79](#); compare [E67](#)).

H79 Roof-tile

Of Holconia, daughter of Marcus.

(*CIL* X 8042.57)

TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS

(H80–97)

H80 Shop sign on Herculaneum's *decumanus maximus*

At Sancus.

(*AE* (1989) 182c)

The words *ad Sancum* appear painted next to an image of a bearded togate figure holding a libation dish and a staff, with his head garlanded. This figure has been interpreted as being the god Semo Sancus, associated with guaranteeing oaths, and so perhaps particularly suitable in a commercial milieu. The sign appears next to the entrance to a shop, *ins.* VI.14 on the *decumanus maximus*, along with [H22](#).

H81 Ingots from a metal-worker's workshop, Herculaneum

{Ingot of 35 kg.} Felix; Faustus; Adatrima?, Cu[-] Aug[-]; 8.

{Ingot of 34 kg.} Photiaca; C L(--) Hel(--); Ada[trima?] C C(-) H(-); 4.

(*AE* (2007) 415–16)

Two lead ingots from the Spanish peninsula were found in excavations of a metal workshop next to the ‘House of the Black Hall’ at Herculaneum. They bear official stamps relating to their production, export and weight, together with a numerical graffito comparing their actual weight with a standard weight.

H82 Occupations at Pompeii

Table 8.6 shows trades mentioned in written sources found at Pompeii. Over half the examples occur on electoral notices; sometimes an individual has added his occupation (e.g. Euhode, the bath attendant begs you to make L. Ceius Secundus duumvir); in other cases the recommendation apparently comes from a group of tradesmen (e.g. barbers support Trebius for aedile); in a few cases (marked in the table by ‘U’) the recommendation from a group of tradesmen is described as *universi* (e.g. all the carpenters ask for Cuspius Pansa). This term, found in connection with carpenters, goldsmiths, fruiterers, fullers and mule-drivers, has led to the suggestion that this indicated the official backing of a particular trade association.

In some cases, the indication of a trade seems to serve to help identify an individual, perhaps as a sort of nickname (*cognomen*), rather like the origin of many British surnames. For example, one graffito refers to ‘Marcus Faustus who is called the herdsman’, while [D105](#) insults ‘Successus the Weaver’ presumably to make the target clear.

Relatively few trades are known from written shop signs, though an outfitter and tanner both seem to have advertised their workshops with written signs ([H86](#), [H96](#)).

The table does not take into account trades or occupations known from archaeological evidence alone. Good examples include the House of the Surgeon (VI.i.10) where forty surgical instruments in metal cases were found. A sample of Region I, *insulae* 6–12 suggests good evidence for a fuller's, ironmonger's, potter's, dyer's shop with kiln and plant for making pigments; textile workshop; workshop for *garum* production; as well as several bars and unidentifiable shops, but also one workshop variously stated to be a surveyor's or bronzesmith on meagre evidence.

In the table, gladiators and actors are not included (see notes on [D49–53](#); [D74–82](#)); nor professional signwriters involved in writing electoral notices (see [F74–80](#)).

Occupation	Source	Ref. (<i>CIL</i> IV unless stated)	Electoral	Comment
Architect	D55 D96	X 841 4716	✗	Freedman Slave?
Baker		677	✓	
Banker	H83 H102 H103–15	See H83 3340.1 3340.2-151	✗	Freedman Freedman?
Barbers		743	✓	See introductory note above
Bath-attendant		840	✓	See introductory note above
Builder	H84	X 868	✗	
Carpenters		960	✓U	See introductory note above
Carriage- drivers	F86	X 1064	✗	
Chicken- keeper	F62	241	✓	
Clapper- beaters	D16	<i>AE</i> (1994) 398	✗	
Cloak-seller		753	✓	
Cobblers		1995	?	Rest of graffito makes no sense
Cushion-sellers	D16	<i>AE</i> (1994) 398	✗	
Doorman		1894	✗	Love poem appealing to the doorman
Dyers		864	✓	
Engraver	H85	8505	✗	
Farmers		490	✓	

Felt-workers		7809	✓	
Fishermen		826	✓	
Fruiterers		202	✓U	
Fullers	D83	9131	✓U	
	E57	X 813		
	F20	7164		
Furnace-stoker		1150	✓	
Gem-cutter	H85	8505	✗	
Goldsmiths		710	✓U	
Grape-picker		6672	✓	
Guard		3081	✗	Soldier records patrol duty in Basilica
Herdsmen		4379	✗	See introductory note above
Innkeeper	H13	1048 AE (1967) 86d	✓	
Lupin-seller		3423/3483	✓	
Millers	F60	7273	✓	
Money-lender	H61–63	4528	✗	
Mule-driver		97	✓U	
Ointment seller		2184	✓	
Outfitter	H86–87	3130	✗	
Painter	H88	7535	✗	
Pastry-cook		1768–9	✗	
Pig-breeder		D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983) 50S	✗	Freedwoman; 'public' pig- breeder
Porters		274 & 497	✓	
Priest's attendant		2612	✗	
Prostitute	D116–17	1751 8356	✗	Most frequent by far. Many different terms used
Rag-and-bone man		7643	✓	
Sailor, retired	H89	X 867	✗	Cf. <i>CIL</i> X 1402, Herculaneum
Scribes		✓376	✓	4 named scribes 'were here' (in inn)
Scorers		1147	✗	
Soldiers	H90–94	De Caro (1979)	✗	Praetorian guard
Soothsayer		5182	✗	Word alone
Surveyor	H95	See H60 5405	✗	'Agilis surveyor' on tomb
Tanner	H96	4014	✗	
Textile worker	H97	9108–09	✗	Graffiti

Theatre official F149	768	✓	
Waggoners	485	✓	
Weaver D105	8259	✗	
Wine-seller	1819	✗	Female
Wool-worker?	1190	✓?	Wool-worker, wake up

Table 8.6 Occupations at Pompeii

H83 Banker

Lucius Ceius Serapio, freedman of Lucius, a banker and his wife, Helvia, daughter of Marcus, dedicated (this).

(D'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 3 OS)

This tomb may date from the late Republic.

H84 Builder

Diogenes, builder.

(CIL X 868)

This name appears on a plaque located on an external wall near the corner of *insula* VII.xv, depicting a mason's tools.

H85 Engraver and Gem-cutter (II.vii.6)

Priscus the engraver wishes good fortune to Campanus the gem-cutter.

(CIL IV 8505)

H86 Outfitter

Marcus Vecilius Verecundus, outfitter.

(CIL IV 3130)

This grafitto recording an outfitter appears on the wall of a house (VII.ii.16). His workshop is thought to be in a nearby *insula*. The workshop is decorated with pictures of the process of making cloth through rubbing and pressing animal skins or wool. It also has a furnace thought to be used for making a coagulant.

H87 An outfitter's linen production

Golden linen tunic.

(CIL IV 9083–5)

This appears to the right of the entrance of a felt workshop (IX.vii.5–7). Linen was a luxury product. One of the wax tablets of Caecilius (**H113**) records the

import of linen from Alexandria (Egypt).

H88 Painter (II.v.2)

Lucius painted (this).

(CIL IV 7535)

This painter's signature (the only one known from Pompeii, although the name of Dioscourides of Samos appears on two mosaics in the so-called Villa of Cicero – [A26](#)) appears next to wall paintings of Narcissus, and Pyramus and Thisbe. These are at the end of a water-channel between masonry dining couches, which forms a feature for an outdoor summer dining-room.

H89 A retired sailor, AD 71

{Inside the diploma:}

Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus, supreme pontiff, in his second year of tribunician power, hailed victorious general six times, father of his country, consul 1 three times, designated consul for a fourth time, to the veterans, who served in the fleet at Misenum under Sextus Lucilius Bassus, who had served for twenty-six years or more and have been settled at Paestum, whose names are written below; to themselves, their children, and their descendants, gave citizenship and the right of marriage with the wives whom they had already at that time, when citizenship was given to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those women whom they later married, provided that each man marry only a single wife.

On 5 April, in the consulship of Caesar Domitian, son of Augustus and Gnaeus Pedius Cascus; to the rank and file soldier Marcus Surus Garasenus, son of Dama.

Transcribed and authenticated from the bronze tablet which is affixed at Rome on the Capitol, on the podium of the altar of the Julian family, on its exterior part.

Appius Didius Praxiles, from Laodicea, Roman equestrian

Gaius Julius Agathocles from Laodicea

Gnaeus Cessius son of Gnaeus, of the Collatine voting-tribe, Cestius
from Antioch

Lucius Cornelius Simon from Caesarea Straton

Tiberius Claudius Epaphroditus from Antioch

Gaius Julius Theopompus from Antioch

Tiberius Claudius Demosthenes from Laodicea

(CIL X 867 = CIL XVI 15 = ILS 1990)

From the mid-first century AD, auxiliaries in the Roman army could be granted full Roman citizenship on their retirement after years of loyal service. This award was inscribed on a bronze tablet displayed on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, and each individual beneficiary was given (or could request) an official copy of the document for his personal use, on a small portable bronze tablet. One of these (dating to AD 71) was found in a bedroom in a small shop, in VIII.v at Pompeii. It must have belonged to one of the veterans of the fleet stationed at nearby Misenum, on the Bay of Naples, whose names are listed as the beneficiaries, and who all come from towns in Syria. The same text is repeated on the outside of the tablet too. A similar diploma of AD 70 was also found at Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1402 = *CIL* XVI 11).

PRAETORIAN GUARDS (H90–94)

The praetorian guard was the emperor's personal bodyguard. The names of various praetorians from different cohorts appear in graffiti at Pompeii, which suggests that praetorians were present in the town on a number of different occasions (H90). In addition, one of the wax tablets of Lucundus (H112) documents a transaction with a member of the guard stationed at Nuceria. Four (probably) of the guard were buried together in a line just outside the Nolan Gate, possibly on public land; this may have been an honour reserved for those who died in public service (H91–93). Their monuments are stone markers with rounded tops, a type of funerary monument similar to ones found elsewhere in Italy, but they are the only ones of their type so far discovered at Pompeii. Perhaps the physical form of their monuments was intended to distinguish these burials at a glance as being those of outsiders. By contrast, the burial of a praetorian from Pompeii is marked by a herm, the funerary monument typical of the region. It is also located away from the other praetorians, outside the Stabian Gate (H94).

H90 Graffito of a soldier from the praetorian guard

Gaius Annaeus Capito, cavalryman of the 10th praetorian cohort, Gratus' unit.
(*CIL* IV 8405)

This graffito was found in I.x.11 at Pompeii, to the right of the door to a bedroom. Other graffiti have also been found mentioning members of different units (*CIL* IV 1711, 1994, 2145, 4311).

H91 Burial of Betutius Niger, 2nd praetorian cohort

Lucius Betutius Niger, son of Quintus, of the Oufentine voting-tribe, soldier in the 2nd praetorian cohort. Lived for 20 years, performed military service

for 2 years.

(De Caro (1979) no.1)

This is inscribed on a marble slab with a rounded top, fixed in the ground, where a terracotta lidded jar containing the remains of the cremation is buried. Next to this were the remains of the funeral pyre, including fragments of decorative bone, perhaps from a funerary couch.

H92 Burial of a praetorian soldier from Ateste

Lucius Manlius Saturninus, son of Quartus, of the Romilian voting-tribe, Ateste his hometown, bodyguard, performed military service for 5 years, lived for 24 years. His brother set this up.

(De Caro (1979) no.3)

H93 Burial of a praetorian soldier from Aquileia

Sextus Caesernius Montanus, son of Spurius, of the Velinan voting-tribe, from Aquileia, bodyguard, performed military service for 11 years, is buried here.

(De Caro (1979) no.4)

H94 Burial of Caelius Secundus, 8th praetorian cohort

Gaius Caelius Secundus, soldier of the 8th cohort. Lived for 28 years, served for 14.

(*NSc* (1897) 275)

H95 Surveyor

H95a Epitaph of the surveyor Popidius Nicostratus



Plate 8.7 Epitaph of the surveyor Popidius Nicostratus

H95b

Nicostratus Popidius (erected this monument) for himself and his concubine Popidia Edoche and his family.

(d'Ambrosio and De Caro (1983), Tomb 17a/b OS)

This tombstone was found reused in a later tomb. The epitaph itself makes no allusion to the deceased's profession, but on either side of it are sculpted in relief the tools of a surveyor: *groma* (instrument for taking bearings), stakes, measuring rod, and rope.

H96 Tanner

Tannery of Xulmus.

(CIL IV 4014)

This is an inscription in carbon on the wall of shop I.v.2, leading to a tannery.

H97 Textile Worker

In shop no. 1–2 (IX xii 1–2, 3–5) two graffiti were found relating to textile production and trade.

H97a

I have written down that the weaving was begun on 26 December.

(CIL IV 9109)

6 July. Tunic 15 sesterces.

(CIL IV 9108)

THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADE (H98–101)

H98a Measuring table in the Forum at Pompeii

See [Plate 8.8](#).

H98b

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, and Numerius Arcaeus Arellianus Caledus, son of Numerius, duumvirs with judicial power, saw to the standardization of the measures in accordance with a decree of the town councillors.

(CIL X 793 = ILS 5602)



[Plate 8.8](#) Measuring table in the Forum at Pompeii

The official set of standard measures (*mensa ponderaria*) was displayed in a niche on the west side of the Forum. This public measuring table was radically modified c.20 BC. New measuring holes were cut into it; in addition to the already existing five central basins, which were enlarged, four smaller ones were also added at the corners, and the Oscan inscriptions (*Imagines Italicae*, vol. 2 p.662, Pompei 27) labelling the basins in use up to that time

were erased. The local magistrates in charge of the operation to standardize the measures in accordance with those at Rome recorded their action in a Latin inscription across the front of the table. Compare the standardized weights found at Herculaneum (*CIL* X 8067.1–2), which the local aediles had approved.

H99 Market stalls by the Amphitheatre

By permission of the aediles. Gnaeus Aninius Fortunatus occupies (this space).

(*CIL* IV 1096)

The aediles were in charge of regulating trading matters. Painted inscriptions from the outside of the Amphitheatre appear to have marked off trading booths within the arched openings. For fragments of similar notices, see *CIL* IV 1096a–97b, 2485. See the riot painting (**D41**) for evidence of temporary stalls in the piazza around the Amphitheatre.

TRADE IN THE FORUM AT POMPEII (H100–1)

Sixteen fragments of wall-painting from a single room in the estate of Julia Felix (II.iv.2) portray different aspects of life in the Forum. The best preserved scenes are the following.

H100 Market stalls in the Forum **MANN inv. 9069 (painting)**



Plate 8.9 Market stalls in the Forum

In the far background, a garlanded portico. In the foreground, two market

stalls – a cobbler and an ironmonger – with their customers.

H101 Market stalls in the Forum MANN inv. 9063 (painting)

See [Plate 8.10](#).

In the background, columns. In the foreground, traders and their customers, including two men selling cloth and a man selling kitchen pots and pans.



[Plate 8.10](#) Market stalls in the Forum

THE WAX TABLETS OF THE BANKER CAECILIUS IUCUNDUS (H102–15)

A total of 153 partially legible documents relating to the business affairs of the banker (*coactor argentarius*) Lucius Caecilius Iucundus have been deciphered from writing tablets found in V.i.26 in 1875. They had been stored in a wooden chest on the first floor, above the north side of the peristyle. This also contained some unused tablets and a large placard. The earliest tablet (**H102**) dates from AD 15 and relates to the business of the banker Caecilius Felix. He is generally supposed to be Iucundus' father and precursor in the same job. His identification as a freedman depends upon his *cognomen*, common among freedmen, or upon the assumption that he is identical with the freedman Lucius Caecilius Felix mentioned in another inscription (*CIL* X 891, AD 1). A freedman called Felix also dedicated a portrait bust of 'our Lucius' in the house (**E76**). It is also possible, however, that both ex-slave and master bore the same names, and that the banker was not a freedman. The latest tablet (**H115**) dates from January AD 62, only a month before the town was severely damaged by an earthquake, commemorated on the *lararium* relief in Iucundus' house (**C3**). We can only speculate whether this collection of tablets is an accident of chance or whether it represents an archive of important documents. It certainly does not preserve a complete record of Iucundus' business transactions.

Some 137 documents relate to auction sales. Iucundus acted as a go-

between for seller and buyer, paying a sum for the goods sold at auction to the seller a few days later, and extending short-term credit to the buyer. Almost all (tablet 100 may be an exception) probably relate to occasional activity on the part of the seller (such as following on from an inheritance, [H104](#)) rather than to regular commercial transactions. Most of these documents are 'receipts' from the seller, acknowledging that Lucundus has paid the amount raised by auction and promised by contract. These documents are not 'receipts' in a modern sense but are formally witnessed verbal statements that payment promised by contract (*stipulatio*) has been received. They thus formally release the banker from his obligation to pay.

The amounts paid out by the banker range from 342 to 38,079 sesterces. The median, calculated from the 44 exact and approximate sums known, comes to *c.*4,500. Only three sales are worth more than 30,000 sesterces. The median sum for credit is 4,060 sesterces. See [Appendix 3](#) for relative monetary values. Their contents include the names of the seller and of Lucundus or a slave acting as his representative, the date, a list of witnesses (all male, with a single exception – Umbricia Antiochis affixes her seal as witness on [H109](#)), and the sum paid out. Some receipts are written by the banker or his representative, stating that the seller has received his money before witnesses. Others are written directly by the recipient (the seller at auction) or his/her representative; in these cases, fewer witnesses are needed. It seems that the order in which the names of witnesses were listed reflected their relative status in society. Tablets 81 and 89 show that the ordering of names was a matter for concern, since the same names are erased and then rewritten in a different order. Sometimes they record the amount of commission charged by the banker. Only a few specify what has been sold – it may be that this was included for clarification only when a seller sold more than one item at auction.

In most cases, three tablets are bound together: pages 1 and 6 are often blank, but sometimes contain a summary of the document in ink; pages 2–3 contain the document in full, on wax, which is sealed; page 4 contains witnesses' names and seals; page 5 reproduces the text in full or in summary. The typical pattern of such documents can be seen in [H105](#) and [H107](#). Each document consists of three parts: a statement of the payment made by Caecilius Lucundus in person; a list of witnesses with their seals; and finally a statement, written on behalf of the seller confirming that the banker has settled his account with him/her.

The tablets present us with a picture of variable literacy among the inhabitants of Pompeii. In Tablet 32, a Latin text is written in Greek letters. In other tablets, their writers do not always display complete competence in Latin. [H112](#) in particular betrays some confusion of how to designate Roman numerals and adopts idiosyncratic spelling. The fact that women never write for themselves is not, however, a sign of their illiteracy, but reflects their legal status (specifically the requirement that a legal guardian, or *tutor*, authorize a

woman's participation in a business deal of this kind: compare **G10**, **H60**, **H66**). Consequently, there would be no point in a woman writing in the first person that she is releasing the banker from his promised contract with her for payment of the proceeds of an auction, since she did not herself possess the legal right to do so. By contrast, one of the so-called Murecine Tablets (*TP* 46 + 44), or Archive of the Sulpicii (found just outside Pompeii but relating to business affairs in Puteoli) documents a slave writing on his master's orders 'because he says he is illiterate'.

Sixteen tablets record business between Iucundus and the town (e.g. **H114–15**). These contain receipts written by a public slave acknowledging that Iucundus has paid sums due to the town. Since they are signed by the public slave in receipt of the money, they are witnessed by only three or four individuals, including at least one duumvir. Payments relate to tax on a fullery for five years, AD 56–61 (**H114**: tablets 141–44), to the leasing from the town of a farm, the *fundus Audianus* (tablets 138–40), and to the collection of tax on pasturage, AD 56–61 (tablets 145–47) and on the market (tablet 151), perhaps paid for setting up a stall. Iucundus may have been leasing the fullery and farm from the town for his own benefit or may have been collecting rental payments from a third party.

H102 Receipt for sale of a mule, auctioned by Caecilius Felix, May AD 15

{Pages 2–3}

520 sesterces for a mule sold to [Marcus] Pomponius Nico, freedman of Marcus, the sum of money which Marcus Cerrinius Euprates is said to have received in accordance with the contract made with [Lucius] Caecilius Felix. Marcus Cerrinius Euphrates, freedman of Marcus, declared that he had received payment in full of the aforementioned sum of money, in cash from Philadelphus, slave of Caecilius Felix. {Seal}.

Transacted at Pompeii, 28 May, in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and Gaius Norbanus Flaccus.

(*CIL* IV 3340.1)

This is the earliest document preserved, recording a business transaction by Caecilius Felix. It consists of two tablets: pages 1 and 4 are smoothed over, but blank; pages 2–3 are hollowed out for wax, but this has perished. The text is faintly legible on the wood beneath, where the metal pen (*stilus*) has scratched through the wax.

H103 Receipt for sale of boxwood at auction, May AD 54

{Page 4, left column, written in ink on wood, vertically across the page}

Gaius Iulius Onesimus declared that he has received from Marcus Fabius Agathinus, acting for Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, 1,985 sesterces, less commission, the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, by 15 July next, for the boxwood sale of Gaius Iulius Onesimus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 10 May, in the consulship of Acilius Aviola, Asinius Marcellus.

{Page 4, right column, contains a partially legible list of witnesses. Iucundus is here making a payment in advance of the agreed date (15 July)}

(CIL IV 3340.5)

H104 Receipt for auction of goods from the estate of Nasennius Nigidius Vaccula, May AD 54

{Page 2, on the edge, in ink}

Handwritten document – of Salvius(?)

{Pages 2–3}

In the consulship of Manius Acilius Aviola and Marcus Asinius, on 29 May. I, Salvius, slave of the heirs of Numerius Nasennius Nigidius Vaccula, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus on account of my auction the sum, raised in accordance with his contract, of 3,059 sesterces, which I have received in instalments on request up to today.

Transacted at Pompeii.

{Page 4, right column, in ink}

{Seal of} Salvius (slave) of the heirs of Vaccula

Lucius Aelius Turbo

Publius Vedius Primus

Salvius (slave) of the heirs of Vaccula

(CIL IV 3340.6)

It seems that this is the last in a series of payments, and that Salvius has been receiving the money in instalments, whenever it has been required.

H105 An almost completely preserved receipt for sale of slave at auction, May/June AD 54

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

Acknowledgement of Nymphius – slave of [Lucius] Iunius Aquila.

{Pages 2–3}

1,567(?) sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, by 13 August next, for the auction of Ni(m)[ph]ius, slave of Lucius Iunius Aquila, less commission – Lucius Iunius Aquila [declared that he has] (received this sum), in cash, from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii on 29 May {or 28 June}, in the consulship of Manlius Acilius and Marcus Asinius.

{Page 4, right column (in ink), next to seals, now missing}

Of Sextus Numisius Iucundus

Of Lucius Neri Hy[ginus?]

Of [Quintus] Caecilius Attalus

Of Marcus Badius Hermes

Of [Publius] Paccius Cerinthus

Of Aulus Vettius Donatus

Of Publius Aefulanus Crysant[us]

Of Gaius Nunnidius Sy[n.]

Of Lucius Iunius

{Page 5}

I, Nymphius, wrote by instruction [and request] of Lucius Iunius Aquila that he received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 1,567(?) sesterces for the auction of Nymphius slave of Iunius Aquila.

(*CIL* IV 3340.7)

**H106 Receipt for highest sum known from auction-sale,
January AD 55**

{Pages 2–3}

38,079 sesterces – the sum which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, for the auction of Marcus Lucretius Lerus, less 2 per cent commission – Marcus Lucretius Lerus declared that he has (received this sum), in cash, from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii on 22 January in the consulship of Nero Caesar and Lucius Antistius.

{Page 4}

{List of (probably) 9 witnesses.}

(*CIL* IV 3340.10)

**H107 Receipt for proceeds from auction for Histria
Ichimas, November AD 56**

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

Acknowledgement for Histria Ich<i>mas.

{Pages 2–3}

6,456½ sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, for the auction of Histria Ichimas – Histria Ichimas declared that she has (received this sum), less commission, from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 5 November, in the consulship of Lucius Duuius and Publius Clodius.

{Page 4, right column, written in ink, next to seals, now missing}

Of Gaius Numitorius Bassus
Of Lucius Numisius Rarus
Of Aulus Veius Atticus
Of Decimus Caprasius Gobio
Of Lucius Valerius Peregrinus
Of ... Cestilius Philod[espotus]
Of [Gaius] Novellius Fortunatus
Of [Aulus] Alfius Abasca[ntus]
Of [Lucius] Ceius Felicio

{Page 5}

In the consulship of Lucius Duuius and Publius Clodius, on 5 November.

I, [name lost], wrote at the request of [Histria Ichimas] that [part of the sum lost, but what remains, fits that mentioned above, 6456½ sesterces] has been paid [by Lucius Caecilius] Iucundus, for the auction which her [slave] made.

Transacted at Pompeii.

(*CIL* IV 3340.22)

**H108 Receipt for sale of fixtures and fittings at auction
by Umbricia Antiochis, November, AD 56**

{Pages 2–3}

[During the consulship of Q. Volusius S]aturninus and [P. Cornelius Scipio], on the 11 November.

I, [name missing], slave of Umbricia Antiochis, [have written] that she has received 645 sesterces from L. Caecilius [Iucundus], for the auction [which

was performed on her behalf], for the objects removed from a property sold earlier. Out of this sum [she has received] 200 sesterces [in cash], with valuation costs adding up to 20 sesterces, incidental expenses adding up to 13 sesterces, and the banker's fee of 51 sesterces having been deducted from the price; finally I received today the sum of 360 sesterces.

Transacted at Pompeii.

(*CIL* IV 3340.23)

Unusually, this tablet gives us a glimpse of the fees and expenses charged for the auction. The items sold fetched 645 sesterces at auction, of which the seller eventually received 560 (i.e. 87 per cent of their total value) after various deductions. In this case, the banker's commission came to around 8 per cent, whereas in Tablet 10 it is 2 per cent, suggesting that there may have been a sliding-scale of commission.

**H109 Receipt for sale of a slave by Umbricia Antiochis,
December AD 56**

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}

Acknowledgement – for Trophimus.

{Pages 2–3}

In the consulship of Lucius Duvidius Avitus and Publius Clodius, on 10 December.

I, Marcus Helvius Catullus, wrote at the request of Umbricia Antiochis that she had received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 6,252 sesterces for the auction of her slave Trophimus, less commission.

Transacted at Pompeii.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}

Of Marcus Helvius Catullus

Of Melissaeus Fuscus

Of Fabius Proculus

Of Umbricia Antiochis

Of Catullus

{Page 5}

In the consulship of Lucius Duvidius [Avitus and Publius] Clodius, on 10 December.

I, Marcus Helvius Catullus, wrote at the request of Umbricia that she had received from Iucundus 6,252 [sesterces] for the auction of her slave Trophimus, less commission.

**H110 Receipt for goods auctioned for Umbricia
Ianuaria, December AD 56**

{In ink, on the margin of the second tablet}
{Acknowledgement} for Umbricia [Ianuaria]

{Pages 2–3}

11,039 sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, for the auction of Umbricia Ianuaria – Umbricia Ianuaria declared that she has (received this sum), less commission from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 12 December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}

Of Quintus Appuleius Severus
Of Marcus Lucretius Lerus
Of Tiberius Iulius Abascantus
Of Marcus Iulius Crescens
Of Publius Terentius Primus
Of Marcus Epidius Hymenaeus
Of Quintus Granius Lesbus
Of Titus Vesonius Le[...]
Of Decimus Volcius Thallus

{Page 5}

12 December, in the consulship of Lucius Duvius and Publius Clodius Thrasea.

I, Decimus Volcius Thallus, wrote at the request of Umbricia Ianuaria, that she had received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 11,039 sesterces, less commission from her auction, as confirmed on examination of sealed tablets.
{Traces of two seals remain.}

(*CIL* IV 3340.25)

**H111 Receipt for auction of goods by Tullia Lampyris,
December, AD 57**

{Pages 2–3}

8,562 sesterces – the sum of money which is due for payment, as contracted

with Lucius Caecilius Iucundus, for the auction of Tullia Lampyris – Tullia Lampyris declared that she has been paid this sum, less commission, by Lucius Caecilius Iucundus.

Transacted at Pompeii, 23 December in the consulship of Nero Caesar for the second time and L. Caesius Martialis.

{Page 4, next to seals, now missing}

Of Lucius Vedius Ceratus
Of Aulus Caecilius Philologus
Of Gnaeus Helvius Apollonius
Of Marcus Stabius Chryseros
Of Decimus Volcius Thallus
Of Sextus Pompeius Axioc(hus)
Of Publius Sextius Primus
Of Gaius Vibius Alcimius

{Page 5}

In the consulship of Nero Caesar for the second time and Lucius Caesius Martialis, transacted at Pompeii on 23 December. I, Sextus Pompeius Axiochus, have written at the request of Tullia Lampyris, that she has received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 8,560 sesterces and 2 asses for her auction, as confirmed on examination of sealed tablets.

(CIL IV 3340.40)

H112 Receipt for proceeds from auction sale by military personnel at Nuceria, AD 56

{Pages 2–3}

In the consulship of Titus Cutius Ciltus and Lucius Iunius, on 27 August; I, Publius Alfenus Varus, the emperor's *trecenarius*, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus {sic} 25,439 sesterces, from the auction of Publius Alfenus Pollio, *decurio*, and of Numerius Eprius Nicia, for that part contractually due to me as substitute debtor. Transacted at Iulia Constantia Nuceria.

{Page 4, right column, in ink, next to seals, now missing}

Of Publius Alfenus Va[rus], emperor's *trecenarius*
Of Publius Alfenus Pollio
Of ... Trausus A...
Of [Publius] Alfenus Varus, emperor's *trecenarius*

This is the only tablet written outside Pompeii, at nearby Nuceria. The document contains several other unusual features. It records that the proceeds of an auction sale by Alfenus Pollio (a *decurio*, or commander of a cavalry unit) and Eprius Nicia are being handed over to Alfenus Varus, who is a *trecenarius Augusti* (i.e. a high-ranking officer in the praetorians). The most likely scenario is that Eprius and Pollio owe some money to Varus. They then auction off some goods belonging to another party who, in turn, is indebted to them. Part of the proceeds of the auction is passed over directly to Varus, thus clearing their debt to him, and they probably then received any surplus from the auction themselves. The text itself is poorly written (e.g. with Iucundus for Iucundus).

H113 Ptolemy of Alexandria, seller of linen at the market

{On edge of tablet, in ink}

Acknowledgement of auction of linen of Ptolemy, son of Masyllus, of Alexandria.

(CIL IV 3340.100)

The rest of the text is mostly lost, but enough survives of the ink summary to attest the activity of an Alexandrian trader at Pompeii, nicely complementing other evidence in the town for the impact of Egyptian culture and influence there (see also [E3–9](#)).

H114 Payment of rental for fullery, August AD 58

{Pages 2–3}

In the duumvirate of Lucius Albucius Iustus and Lucius Veranius Hypsaeus, I, Privatus, slave of the colony, have written that I have received from Lucius Caecilius Iucundus 1,652 sesterces, from the outstanding amount for the fullery before this day, 14 July.

Transacted at Pompeii, 14 August, in the consulship of A. Paconius Sabinus and A. Petronius.

(CIL IV 3340.142)

This document relates to the payment of rental for a fullery for the year AD 57/8. This is the second year of rental in an agreement covering a five-year period.

H115 The latest tablet: receipt of market tax/rental,

{Edge of second tablet in ink}

Payment ...

{Pages 2–3}

In the duumvirate of ... and Tiberius Claudius Verus.... January. I, [Privatus], slave of the colony of Pompeii have written that I have received from [Lucius] Caecilius Iucundus 2,520 sesterces, on behalf of Marcus Fabius Agathinus, stallholder in the market.

Transacted at Pompeii.

In the consulship of Publius Marius son of Publius and Lucius Afinius.

(CIL IV 3340.151)

TOWN AMENITIES AT POMPEII (H116)

H116 Distribution map of public water fountains, bakeries and snack-bars (*popinae*) at Pompeii

See *Figure 8.2*.

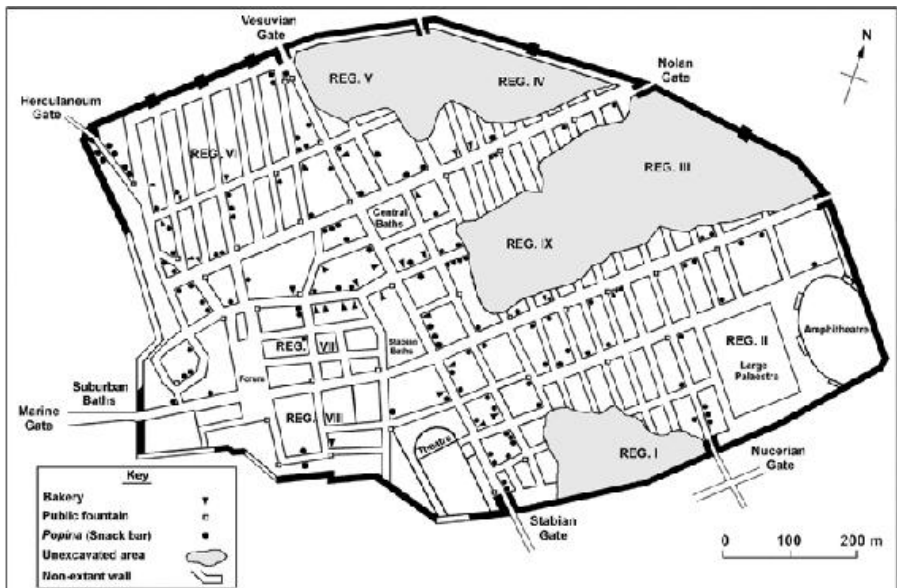


Figure 8.2 Distribution map of public water fountains, bakeries and snack-bars (*popinae*) at Pompeii

Appendix 1

KNOWN DATES OF GAMES AT POMPEII AND OUTSIDE

Data for bar-chart ([D15/Figure 4.1](#)). See *Tables A1* and *A2*.

Table A1.1 Pompeii

<i>CIL IV number</i>	<i>Source number</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Date of games</i>	<i>Gladiators</i>	<i>Husi</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Duration (days)</i>
1179	D24	Pompeii	24, 25, 26 November	30 pairs plus replacements	✓	V	3
1180	D23	Pompeii	4 July	troupe	✓	V	1
1183		Pompeii	16 May	troupe	✓	V	1
1185		Pompeii	28 March	? troupe	✓	V	1
1186		Pompeii	from 20 April	troupe	✓	V	2?
1189	D21	Pompeii	31 May	troupe	✓	V	1
1194 – AE 2007, 363		Pompeii?	20 May	troupe	✓	V	1
1199		Pompeii	27, 28, 29, 30 November	?	✓	V	4
1989		Pompeii	28 August		✓	bears	1
1990a		Pompeii	5 January			bull	1
2508	D37	Pompeii	13, 2 May 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 May	results name 30 or more gladiators			2 5
3334	D17	Pompeii	8, 9, 10, 11, 12 April	30 pairs	✓	V	5
7988		Pompeii	4, 5 June	?	?	?	2
7989a		Pompeii	25, 26 February	none	✓	Ash and Sp	2
7992	D18	Pompeii	from 4 April	30 pairs	✓	V	3?
7993	D25	Pompeii	13 June	none	✓	Ash and P	1
7995	D19	Pompeii	from 23 March	30 pairs	✓	V	3?
9974		Pompeii	12, 13, 14 May	?	?	?	3
9980		Pompeii	4, 5, 6, 7 November	20 pairs	✓	X	4
9986		Pompeii	23 and 24 January	more than 40 pairs	?	?	1+

Pompeii notices of games with dates only partly legible: *CIL IV* 1184 – ?May; 1193 – 5 A[pr] or 5 A[ug]; 9962 (D23) – 30 January or 11 February

Pompeii notices of games with dates not legible or not given: *CIL IV* 1177 (D27 = 7993?); 1178; 1192; 1192a; 1196; 1200; 1201; (3883 = 1177/ 7993?); 7986a; 7991 (D25 no date given, = 1179?); 9963; 9965; 9967; 9968; 9975; 9982; 9985

Table A1.2 Outside Pompeii

<i>CIL IV number</i>	<i>Source number</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Date of games</i>	<i>Gladiators</i>	<i>Husi</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Duration (days)</i>
1204		Nola	from 1 June	30 pairs	?	?	3?
3001	D30	Nola	1, 2, 3 May	20 pairs	✓	✗	3
3882		Nuceria	5/6, 7, 8 May	20 pairs	✓	✗	4
4299	D53	Nuceria	28 July,	(record of victories by one gladiator)			1
		Herculanum	16 August				1
7994	D35	Puteoli	12, 14, 16, 18 May	49 pairs	✗	V	4
9969		Puteoli	? 9 December	?	?	V	1
9970		Puteoli	17, 18, 19, 20 March	20 pairs	✓	Ath	4
9972		Nuceria	31 October, 1, 8, 9 November	36 pairs	✗	✗	4
9973	D34	?Nuceria	29 October	20 pairs	?	?	1
9976		?Cumae	18, 19, 20 May	?	?	?	3
9977		?Cales	5, 7 June	20 pairs	✗	V	2
9983a		Cumae	1, 5, 6 October	20 pairs	✓	V and Cruc	3
10161		Nuceria	21 April	?	?	U	1
AE 1990, 177b		Caiua	23, 24 January	40 pairs	✗	V	2
AE 1990, 177c		Forum Popilii	20, 21, 22, 23 May	24 pairs	✓	✗	4

Notices of games held outside Pompeii with dates not legible: *CIL* IV 9978 and *CIL* IV 1187 + *AE* 2007, 361 – Nola; 9984 – Puteoli

Most of the inscriptions tabulated here are painted notices of games to be given. Entries in *italics* indicate other written evidence, e.g. results and scratched messages relating to individuals: these may give the date, but could not be expected to give information about what else may have happened at the games. Several sets of games are advertised as being from a given date; here the number of gladiators usually suggests that the games would have lasted several days (perhaps depending on the weather and/or how quickly the rights ended). We have given an estimate for the duration. A question mark indicates that part of the notice cannot be read. Where crosses appear, the whole notice is preserved, without mention of a particular feature.

For other types of entertainment/facilities advertised: Ath = athletes; Cruc = crucifixions; P = procession; Sp = sprinklings of water; V = *vela* (awning); U = uncovered (i.e. no awning)

Appendix 2

TABLE SHOWING QUOTATIONS OF LITERATURE FOUND WRITTEN ON THE WALLS OF POMPEII

<i>Author</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Line ref.</i>	<i>Freq</i>	<i>Reference (CIL IV)</i>
Ennius	<i>Annals</i> (Ed. Skutsch fr.110)	4	3135, 7353, 8568 (adapted), 8995	
Homer	<i>Iliad</i>	various	1	4078
Lucretius	<i>On the Nature of Things</i>	1.1	5	3072, 3118, 3139, 3913, 4373 (?)
		1.86	1	5020
		2.1	1	<i>CErc</i> (1973) 102 n.28
Ovid	<i>Art of Love</i>	1.9.1	1	3149
		1.475–6	1	1895* (var.)
	<i>Amores</i>	1.8.77–8	1	1893*
		3.2.1	1	1595* (adapted)
		3.11.35	2	1520* (adapted), 9847* (adapted)
	<i>Heroides</i>	4.17	1	4133
		20.205	1	1595* (adapted)
Propertius	<i>Elegies</i>	1.1.5	6	1520, 1523, 1526, 1528, 3040, 9847* (all adapted)
		2.5.9–10	1	4491*
		4.5.47–8	1	1894*
		4.16.13–14	1	1950* (var.)
Seneca	<i>Agamemnon</i>	730	1	6698
Tibullus	<i>Elegies</i>	2.6.30	1	1837* (?badly preserved)
Virgil	<i>Aeneid</i>	1.1	12	1282, 2361, 3198, 4757, 4832*, 5002, 5337, 7131, 8416, 8831, 10059(?), 10086
		1.135	1	4409(?)
		1.192–3	1	8630b (adapted)
		1.234	1	5012*
		2.1	14	1672, 2213, 3151(?), 3889, 4036, 4191, 4212,

			4665, 4675, 4877(?), 6707, 8222, 8247(?), 10096b
	2.148	1	1841*
	5.110/9.269	1	1237* (adapted)
	7.1	3	3796, 4127, 4373(?)
	8.1	1	10190 (with <i>AE</i> (1989) 185) (adapted)
	9.404	1	2310k*
<i>Eclogues</i>	2.21	2	8625, <i>AE</i> (1992) 279
	2.56	3	1527 (var.), 1524, 4660 (?var.)
	3.1	1	5007 (adapted)
	5.72	1	5195
	8.70	3	1982,4401 (?), 5304 (?)
<i>Georgics</i>	1.163	2	8560, 8610

Table A2.1

Notes: * denotes quotation beyond a couple of words' var. = variation: some difference from our known versions in manuscript; adapted = deliberate reworking.

CIL IV 2400a is a one-line palindrome from the Greek Anthology (Planudes 6.13) written in Greek and underneath in Roman letters. *CIL* IV 733 reproduces in Greek a quotation by the philosopher Diogenes the Cynic, as reported by the Greek writer Diogenes Laertes at 6.50.

Appendix 3

A GUIDE TO MONETARY VALUES

	sesterces
A member of Rome's equestrian class had to possess property worth	400,000
Local councillors might have had to possess (figure for Pompeii/Herculaneum unknown)	100,000
A legionary received on discharge after 25 years' service	12,000
Sale of the slave Trophimus	6,252
The large marble basin in the Forum Baths cost	5,250
Funeral costs for M. Obellius Firmus	5,000
Two slaves, Simplex and Petrinus, sold for	2,000
On occasion, the town council paid towards public funerals	2,000
12 pints of <i>garum</i> fetched	1,000
Basic legionary annual pay was	900
Sale of a mule raised	520
A tunic (of unknown quality) cost	15
The prostitute Attice charged	4
0.545 litres of wine at a wine-shop in Herculaneum cost	½ to 1

These figures can be assumed to apply to the last century at Pompeii/Herculaneum since inflation was not an important factor at this time.

1 sesterce = 4 *asses*; 4 sesterces = 1 *denarius*

Appendix 4

BRIEF LIST OF DATES OF RELEVANCE TO POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM

509 BC	establishment of Republican government in Rome
323 BC	Death of Alexander the Great; start of period of Hellenistic culture
89 BC	Herculaneum captured by Sulla's forces during Social War
c.81/0 BC	Roman colony established at Pompeii
73 BC	Slave-revolt of Spartacus
63 BC	Cicero consul; Catiline declared public enemy
49 BC	Julius Caesar begins civil war with Pompey the Great. End of Roman Republic?
44 BC	Julius Caesar assassinated
31 BC	Octavian defeats Mark Antony to become undisputed sole ruler of the Roman empire
27 BC	Octavian adopts the name Augustus and reigns until AD 14
AD 14–37	Tiberius emperor
AD 37–41	Gaius Caligula emperor
AD 41–54	Claudius emperor
AD 54–68	Nero emperor
AD 59	Riot in Pompeii's amphitheatre
AD 62	February: major earthquake affecting Pompeii
AD 68–69	Civil war; 'Year of the four emperors'
AD 69–79	Vespasian emperor
AD 79–81	Titus emperor (from 24 June AD 79)
AD 79	October?, eruption of Vesuvius

GLOSSARY

aedile local magistrate, elected annually, in charge of streets, sacred and public buildings

amphora/-ae large pottery container, often used for olive oil and wine

as (pl. asses) the base-unit of Roman currency, a small value coin

atrium main reception room of a house, with *impluvium* in the middle, leading to other rooms

Augustalis a privileged social group, below the level of the town council

Augustus name adopted by Octavian/Augustus, and used as part of the title of subsequent emperors

Basilica public building where legal business was usually conducted

bisellium an honorific double-width seat

Caesar the *cognomen* of Julius Caesar (the general and *dictator*); used as a family name by his heir, Augustus, and his family; occasionally used to refer to the current emperor

client a citizen who voluntarily paid his respects to a richer, more powerful patron, in return for his protection; an ex-slave with obligations to his or her former master

cognomen the last of a Roman's names, sometimes a type of nickname, but often distinguishing not just an individual, but a branch of a large family

Colonia Veneria Cornelia the official title for Pompeii as a Roman colony, taken from the names of Venus (its guardian deity) and Cornelius Sulla, the founder of the colony

colonist citizen of a colony; at Pompeii in the period after it became a colony, a Roman settler rather than original inhabitant

colony a settlement of Roman citizens (often army veterans) with its own local constitution

consul the highest political office in the Republic, and still in existence under the emperors, though without real political power; two consuls held office jointly for a year or part of a year

denarius Roman coin, worth 4 sesterces

dictator official appointed in time of emergency in Rome

dipinti inscriptions painted on walls

decurion local town councillor

duumvirs the two senior annually elected magistrates

epitaph inscription on a tomb, honouring the deceased

equestrian (1) a member of this class in Rome, almost equal in status to the

senatorial class (2) equestrian statue; statue of a man on horseback (compare *pedestrian*)

Etruscan the language and culture of an indigenous Italian people, from the area of modern Tuscany; around 500 BC, their empire was the most important in Italy

exedra large funerary monument also providing a seat

Forum open piazza in a town, surrounded by public buildings; the focus of religious, commercial, administrative, and judicial affairs

freedman an ex-slave, set free by his master, becoming a Roman citizen (and the client of his former master)

fullery laundry where clothes were cleaned and finished

garum fish sauce

genius the guardian spirit of a person (or place)

graffiti writing scratched upon a hard surface with a metal implement

Hellenistic describes Greek culture originating after the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC) in the areas of his conquest

herm a small stone pillar with the representation of a human head

Ides the thirteenth or fifteenth day of the Roman month

Imperator originally a title given by Roman troops to their general after a major victory, adopted by Augustus and by later emperors as part of the emperor's official title

impluvium square pool in the middle of the *atrium's* floor, leading to a cistern, for collecting rainwater from roof

insula block of buildings defined by streets on all sides

Kalends the first day of the Roman month

lararium shrine for the household gods (lares)

lares guardian spirits, of households and of crossroads

libation liquid (usually wine) poured as an offering to gods or spirits of the dead

Macellum meat and fish market in the Forum at Pompeii

magistrate a politician elected for a year as aedile, duumvir or quinquennial

military tribune properly an officer in the Roman army, but sometimes a purely honorary title given by popular demand

municipium a town of lower status than a colony

necropolis area for burial of bodies or ashes of the dead and their monuments

Nones the fifth or seventh day of a Roman month

orchestra semicircular area of a theatre in front of the stage

Oscan one of the local languages of Italy, used in Campania, which was gradually replaced by Latin

palaestra large open area, surrounded by a colonnade, originally for exercise

patron a more wealthy and important citizen who looked after the interests of poorer clients in return for their support and public deference; a town's

patron protected its interests at Rome

pedestrian statue statue of a man or woman standing up

peristyle a garden area in a Roman house, surrounded by a colonnade

portico a colonnade around a central (open-air) area

prefect at Pompeii, a magistrate appointed only in special circumstances

pumice a light volcanic rock

quaestor at Pompeii, before c.80 BC, a magistrate responsible for financial matters; also an officer responsible for a cult's finances

quinquennial the highest political office in Pompeii, elected every five years

Republican modern usage to refer to the period when Rome was governed by elected magistrates (rather than emperors)

Samnite the name of a people from the region to the north of Campania

Senate the ruling council of Rome

sesterces the unit of currency in Rome

Sibyl a woman, often a priestess, thought to act as the mouthpiece of a god

stucco decorative plasterwork

tablinum room in a house between *atrium* and garden area, thought to be where the householder conducted his business

triclinium room in a house for dining, with couches

travertine white limestone

tribe all citizens of the Roman empire were formally members of one of 35 voting-tribes

tribunician power a legal power adopted by Augustus and by subsequent emperors and their chosen successors; its use as part of an emperor's title enables inscriptions to be dated

tufa stone formed from compacted volcanic ash

urceus small pottery storage container

vela canvas awning providing shelter for spectators at the theatre or amphitheatre

FURTHER READING

General books

Several excellent introductory books on both Pompeii and Herculaneum have appeared in recent years, notably Ling 2005; J. Berry 2007; Beard 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2011a. *The World of Pompeii* edited by Dobbins and Foss 2007 contains introductory studies on Beginnings, The Community, Housing, and Society and Economy. The Laterza archaeological guide in Italian is the most comprehensive available, in an updated edition by Pesando and Guidobaldi 2006, while Keppie 2009 is the best guidebook in English suitable for taking on site. Cooley 2003 explores the political and cultural context of the site's excavation, and presents recent vulcanological research for a non-specialist readership, while Harris 2007 offers an entertaining account of the history of the excavations. A collection of essays edited by Hales and Paul 2011 includes a variety of interesting case-studies of the reception of Pompeii in the modern era. 'Coffee-table' books exist seemingly by their hundreds, often with fantastic photography, but with rather poor quality captions and text. Coarelli 2002 is the exception to the rule, with well-researched and up-to-date text as well as superb colour illustrations. For an analysis of epigraphic culture at Pompeii within its wider regional context, see Cooley 2012, Chapter 1. The Pompeii in Pictures Internet site by Jackie and Bob Dunn (<http://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/index.htm>) offers a very good, comprehensive photographic coverage of the site as it is today, while Blogging Pompeii, run by Joanne Berry, is a news and discussion forum reporting on new discoveries, latest bibliography, and events relating to Pompeii (<http://bloggingpompeii.blogspot.co.uk/>).

We have included only limited discussion and illustration of artefacts relevant to the study of Pompeii and Herculaneum. Some of the outstanding artefacts, as well as more mundane ones, can be found via exhibition catalogues, such as *Rediscovering Pompeii* 1992, Ciarallo and De Carolis (eds) 1999, Stefani 2005, Borriello *et al.* (eds) 2008. The recent exhibition at the British Museum is accompanied by Roberts 2013. There is also much useful material in a recent catalogue of Naples Museum: De Caro 1996. The fascinating history of the plastercasts of bodies is explored by Dwyer 2010.

An excellent series of pamphlets, available in English translation, was produced by the Soprintendenza to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the beginning of the excavations. D'Ambrosio 1998 provides a succinct introduction to the site's early excavation; for visitors to the site who wish to

escape from the crowds in the town, a peaceful walk has been designed around the town's perimeter, illustrated by Ciarallo and De Carolis (eds) 1998; for Herculaneum, see Pirozzi 2000. A series of short thematic picture books (*Pompei — Guide tematiche*), includes De Carolis 2001 and d'Ambrosio 2001. There has also been a flurry of publication of excavation reports, old and new, including transcriptions of excavation reports from the Bourbon era by Pagano 1997, 2005, as well as new detailed reports on excavations including the *Insula Occidentalis* by Aoyagi *et al.* 2006 and the area of the Porta di Capua by Etani and Kodaigaku 2010.

If hunting for information about a particular topic, turn to the *Nova bibliotheca pompeiana* (García y García 1998), which provides an exhaustive list of everything ever published about Pompeii, with 14,596 entries in all. It contains useful indexes by topography and theme. For a similar comprehensive guide to Herculaneum, see McIlwaine 1988 and 2009.

1 Pre-Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum

Recent studies of various aspects of Pompeii's urban development, and of the settlement of the area from prehistoric times onwards are published in Ellis (ed.) 2011. This volume includes a chapter by Carafa on the monumental history of the 'Triangular Forum' sanctuary, and a challenge to the conventional interpretation of the 'Altstadt' by Coarelli and Pesando 2011.

Etruscan graffiti from Pompeii are published by Cristofani *et al.* 1996: 59–64, nos. 8747–75. Many of them were found in the Temple of Apollo, on which see De Caro 1986. The standard publication of Oscan inscriptions is now the *Imagines Italicae*, edited by Crawford 2011. This gives comprehensive detail about the inscriptions' texts and contexts, along with photographic records of the inscriptions where possible. For attitudes towards Oscan inscriptions after the Roman takeover of the town, see Cooley 2002.

The impact of Hellenistic culture on the town is considered by Zanker 1998: 32–60 and De Caro 1991. Brief archaeological reports have been published on the Sanctuary of Dionysus — Maiuri 1947, Van Buren 1948, Elia and Pugliese Carratelli 1979 — but no full-scale publication exists.

2 The Social War and its aftermath

On the Social War in general, see Mouritsen 1998 and Bispham 2007. For a completely different interpretation of the military notices (**B6**) as somehow related to electioneering, see Campanile 1996.

On the impact of Sulla's colonization of the town, especially upon its urban development, see Andreau 1980, Castrén 1976, Kockel 1987, Zanker 1998: 61–77, Zevi 1995. Gabba 1972 remains the classic article on the wider Italian context of this transformation. For Gaius Quinctius Valgus (**B11–12**), see Dessau 1883, Harvey 1973.

Berry 1996 is the standard edition of Cicero's speech, *pro Sulla*, while the particular problem of Pompeii is succinctly analysed by Wiseman 1977. On Cicero and other elite property owners in the area, see D'Arms 1970, especially Chapter 3 'The last years of the Republic'.

3 Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum

For a general analysis of both earthquake and eruption, and contemporary responses to the eruption, see Cooley 2003, Chapters 2–3. On salvaging, see brief discussion in Ling 2005: 155–57.

Some books on Pompeii persist in incorrectly dating the major earthquake to AD 63, despite the generally accepted arguments of Onorato 1949 in favour of AD 62. Hine 1984 gives a plausible explanation of the discrepancy between Tacitus and Seneca. Extensive discussion and photographic evidence for earthquake damage and repairs can be found in Adam 1986 and in *Archäologie und Seismologie* 1995, with analysis of the social impact of earthquakes in Andreau 1984.

For modern assessments of the accuracy of Pliny's account of the eruption, in the light of recent scientific discoveries, see Sigurdsson *et al.* 1982 and Varone and Marturano 1997. For the dispute over the dating of the eruption, see Savino 2004 for a reassessment of the literary sources, and Borgongino and Stefani 2001/2 for a survey of previous views on the manuscripts of Pliny and on botanical evidence, along with the presentation of fresh archaeological data that favour a later date for the eruption. The coin of Titus is briefly published by Stefani 2006 and reprised in the scientific paper on wind direction published by Rolandi *et al.* 2007.

For discussion of the Sibylline oracles (**C30–31**), see Brenk 1999.

4 Leisure

The architecture and history of Pompeii's Amphitheatre are clearly outlined by Bomgardner 2000: 39–58, with helpful plans. The archaeological evidence for awnings over the Amphitheatre and Theatre is presented by Graefe 1979. The standard work on the painted notices advertising shows is Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980. The inscriptions from the tomb of the Lucretii Valentes (**D16**) have been republished by Camodeca 2008a, supplementing the original publication of the tomb enclosure by De' Spagnolis Conticello 1993/4. Jacobelli 2003 offers a well-illustrated introduction to gladiatorial culture at Pompeii, including pictures of the paintings in the Amphitheatre on 59–61. For detailed discussion of the 'tomb of Scaurus' and its reliefs (**D36**), see Kockel 1983: 75–85. Moeller 1970 examines the historical significance of the riot. On **D43**, see Benefiel 2004. The career of Alleius Nigidius Maius is analysed by Franklin 1997 and Van Buren 1947.

On the significance of the building-work of the Holconii in the Large Theatre and its relationship to Augustan Rome, see D'Arms 1988 and Small

1987. Sear 2006 provides a detailed catalogue focusing on the architecture of Roman theatres, while Fuchs 1987 deals with their decoration. Contrasting views on the function of the Odeion can be found in Zanker 1998: 65–68 and Zevi 1995. On actors in general and Norbanus Sorex in particular, see the material from Nemi discussed by Granino Cecere 1988–89; Franklin 1987 discusses the troupe of Actius Anicetus.

Literary graffiti are catalogued and discussed by Gigante 1979. Graffiti accompanying pictures (not just from Pompeii) are superbly published by Langner 2001, complete with a CD-Rom containing extensive documentation and a searchable database. For a new reading of [D93](#), see Vössing 2001. On [D97](#), see further Maulucci Vivolo 1993: 189. Benefiel 2008, 2010a, 2010b has explored the idea of ‘dialogue’ between different graffiti writers, while Levin-Richardson 2011 offers an interpretation of the graffiti in Pompeii's brothel.

For basic data and plans relating to the baths of Pompeii and Herculaneum, see Nielsen 1993, and for a general contextualization of bathing culture in the Roman world, see Fagan 1999. Cooley 2013b analyses the display of monumental writing in various bath-buildings.

5 Religion

Individual aspects of religion at Pompeii, rather than the overall picture, have attracted discussion. Carafa 2011 offers a reassessment of the monumental history of the sanctuary in the ‘Triangular forum’. The cult of Isis is particularly well documented, with one catalogue of finds from the Temple of Isis — De Caro (ed.) 1992 — and another of finds relating to the cult of Isis in general, Tran Tam Tinh 1964. The new finds from Pompeii's Temple of Venus are published by Curti 2008a/b, while Carroll 2010 publishes the results of recent excavations in the sanctuary's enclosure.

The inscriptions and architecture of the Temple of Venus at Herculaneum are published by Guidobaldi *et al.* 2008–09 and Guidobaldi 2008a. On [E32](#), see Guadagno 1995.

The dating and iconography of the altar [E52](#) are discussed by Dobbins 1992. The identity of the temple dedicated by Mamia ([E53](#)) is discussed by Fishwick 1995, with Wallat 1995 arguing that the door-frame currently displayed on Eumachia's Building actually belonged to this neighbouring temple. The activities of Eumachia as priestess and public benefactress have been much discussed, comparing her work with that of Livia at Rome: Moeller 1975, Richardson 1978, Cooley 2013a.

Recent excavations in the necropolis outside the Nucernian Gate have particularly focused upon trying to reconstruct the funerary rites held at the tombs; initial results of these investigations are published by van Andringa *et al.* 2008 and Saldías 2008. For earlier excavation reports of the Nucernian Gate necropolis, see D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983.

An article by van Andringa 2000 usefully collates evidence for all

crossroads shrines, whereas household shrines are catalogued by Boyce 1937 and Fröhlich 1991, with discussion of their significance in Foss 1997.

Evidence for Jews at Pompeii is reviewed by Lacerenza 2004, while a catalogue of epigraphic evidence from the town is included in *JWE*, Vol. 1.

6 Politics and public life

On political life at Pompeii in general, see the contrasting approaches of Castrén 1975, Mouritsen 1988 and Franklin 2001. On electoral notices, see further Franklin 1978, 1980, and the fantastic photographic resource published by Varone and Stefani 2009. For other urban features producing a distribution pattern similar to the one in [F29/Figure 6.1](#), see Laurence 1994: Map 5.3 (bars); Maps 6.1–4 (doorways); Maps 6.5–8 (messages).

For the duties of magistrates and town councils, see Camodeca 2003a. Further research needs to be done on the list of names at Herculaneum ([F89](#)), but some sense of recent debates about how to interpret this unique source can be gathered from Wallace-Hadrill 2004: 124–26, Mouritsen 2007, Camodeca 2008b: especially 89–98, and Wallace-Hadrill 2011b, who also reviews the identity of the public buildings at the centre of Herculaneum and the problem of the *Augustales*. For the career of Holconius Rufus, see D'Arms 1988. On the confusing history of M. Nonius Balbus, and recent work on the *basilica Noniana* and on the terrace next to the Suburban Baths, see Schumacher 1976, Adamo Muscettola 1982, Pagano 1988a, Pappalardo 1997, Ascione and Pagano 2000: 75–79, Allroggen-Bedel 2008a, Guidobaldi 2008b, Cooley 2012: 30–37. On the question of the House of Telephus' possible relationship to the Suburban Baths, see Guidobaldi 2006. On the 'so-called basilica' (also, probably mistakenly known as the *Augusteum*), see Allroggen-Bedel 2008a. The tomb of Obellius Firmus at Pompeii was published by De Franciscis 1976, with further important discussion by Jongman 1978/9 and De Caro 1979.

The *cippi* set up by Vespasian's agent, Suedius Clemens, are discussed by Sertà 2001/2 ([F148](#)).

7 Law and society

Meyer 2004 offers an overview of the role of wax tablets within Roman law and society. The wax tablets from Herculaneum have been skilfully and painstakingly republished over recent decades by Giuseppe Camodeca in a series of articles: 1993a/b, 1994, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2003b, 2006a/b, 2006/7. The case of Petronia Iusta was initially published by Arangio-Ruiz 1959 and lucidly explored by Weaver 1991, Franciosi, 2000, and Lintott 2002. For a technical discussion of *vadimonium*, see Metzger 2005: Chapter 4.

The legal significance of [G27](#) is discussed by Saliou 2012. The markers around the Suburban baths at Pompeii are published by Jacobelli 2001 and 2006. Full discussion of the wax tablet [G29](#) can be found in Camodeca 1994

and 1999: 537 as well as Crook 2000.

8 Commercial life

The fascinating work of Jashemski 1979 and 1993 in uncovering gardens and vineyards is superbly and lavishly illustrated. In aiming to cover every known garden area in Pompeii, she provides information on a large number of houses and on far more than horticulture. Her work is discussed by Cooley 2003: Chapter 6. For the Inn of Euxinus, see Jashemski 1967, 1979: 172–76, 1993: 51–52. Jashemski and Meyer 2002 provide an exhaustive analysis of data pertaining to the natural environment of the town. The House of Amarantus was re-excavated by a team from the University of Reading and British School at Rome; their results are published by J. Berry 1997, 1998, Fulford and Wallace-Hadrill 1999. Wax tablets [H18–19](#) are edited in Camodeca 1999: 537–38 and 2000a. The *amphorae* of Eumachius are discussed briefly by Tchernia and Zevi 1972.

For discussion of Umbricius Scaurus' fish sauce, see Curtis 1984, 1988; his house at VII.16 *Insula Occidentalis* 15 is published in Aoyagi *et al.* 2006. Curtis 1979 reports the excavation of a fish sauce shop in I.xii.8. Information on the recent discovery of fish-salting vats within Pompeii is published by Ellis 2011.

The wax tablets dealing with commercial transactions are all published by Camodeca: [H53](#) in Camodeca 2009b; sales of slaves ([H54–56](#)) may be found in Camodeca 2000b; [H57](#) is edited by Camodeca 2009a. The archive of Cominius Primus is also edited by Camodeca 1993a/b, and the archive of Venidius Ennychus in Camodeca 2002.

Pirson 1997 compares the information given about property in the rental notices ([H73–74](#)) with the buildings on which the notices are displayed, trying to discern which parts of the *insula* were for rent. For a related discussion of the mixed commercial interests of the elite, see Parkins 1997. The shop sign at Herculaneum, [H80](#), is published by Pagano 1988b. The sample of trades in I.vi–xii is taken from that recorded by Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 187–97. For the burials of praetorians outside the Nolan Gate, see De Caro 1979. The paintings of the Forum from the estate of Julia Felix are republished, with pictures, by Nappo 1989.

The tablets of Caecilius Iucundus were published by Zangemeister 1898; their historical significance and the wider context of banking have been discussed by Andreau 1973, 1974, 1999. For a new reading of [H112](#), see Camodeca 2010.

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INDEX OF PERSONS

Note: references in **bold** are to translated sources. References not in bold are to material by the authors, either in the form of introductions to the chapters or to notes on an individual source or group of sources.

The following usual and ancient abbreviations for *praenomina* (first names) are used:

A.	Aulus	P.	Publius
C.	Gaius	Q.	Quintus
Cn.	Gnaeus	Sex.	Sextus
D.	Decimus	Sp.	Spurius
L.	Lucius	T.	Titus
M.	Marcus	Tib.	Tiberius
N.	Numerius		

Other abbreviations and explanations:

Magistracies:

cos	consul (at Rome, with year (AD unless stated))	Ilvir quinq. pref.	duumvir quinquennial prefect
aed.	aedile	patron	patron of the colony
Aug.	<i>Augustalis</i>	mag. vic.	presidents of the neighbourhood
cand.	candidate	min. Aug.	attendants of Augustus
fman	freedman	min. vic.	attendants of the neighbourhood
fwoman	freedwoman	supporter	someone endorsing an election candidate
glad.	gladiator		

The earliest recorded inhabitants of Pompeii had two names – a first name and a family name. By the first century AD, however, most Roman citizens had three names. Only a few first names (*praenomen*) were in common use. The second name (the *nomen*) was the family name. The third name (*cognomen*) could be used to differentiate between members of the same family, or branches of a large family.

Slaves would have only one name, usually easily distinguishable from a Roman name. On being freed, a slave would take his former master's first and second name, with his own former name as a third name.

Acanthus (schoolboy) **H76**

Acceius Telemachus, M. (*garum* producer, fman?) **H35**

Acilius Aviola, M. (cos 54) **H103–5**
 Actius Anicetus (actor) **D74, D75, D80**
 Actius, L. (actor) **D76**
 Adiranus, Vibius (benefactor) **A12, B6**
 Adirius, Maras **B6**
 Aegle (supporter) **F57**
 Aelius Turbo, L. (witness) **H104**
 Aemilius Celer, P. (sign-writer) **F78–80**
 Aemilius Lepidus, M. (cos 78 BC) **D101**
 Aemilius Lepidus, M. (cos 46 BC) **E91**
 Aeschylus (Greek tragedian) **D70**
 Afinius Gallus, L. (cos 62) **G3, H67, H115**
 Agathemerus (schoolboy) **H76**
 Agathermus (*min Aug*) **E96**
 Agilis (surveyor) **H82**
 Agrippa (Jewish nobleman) **C17**
 Agrippa Postumus (grandson of Augustus) **F153**
 Agrippina (wife of Claudius, mother of Nero) **F129, F142**
 Albanus (schoolboy) **H76**
 Albucius Celsus, L. (aed.) **F138**
 Albucius Iustus, L. (Ilvir) **H114**
 Alexander the Great **A24–6**
 Alfenus Pollio, P. (soldier) **H112**
 Alfenus Varus, P. (soldier) **H112**
 Alficius Paulus, M. (Herc. aed) **E87**
 Alleia Decimilla (priestess) **E68, F91**
 Alleius Eros, Cn. (fman) **E65**
 Alleius Ferox, M. (*min. Aug.*) **E49**
 Alleius Libella, M. (councillor) **F91**
 Alleius Logus, Cn. (fman) **E66**
 Alleius Luceius Libella, M. (quinq.) **F91**
 Alleius Nigidius Maius, Cn. (quinq.) **D24–8, H74**
 Alleius Nobilis, Cn. (father of above) **E64**
 Alliatoria Celsilla (property owner) **F132b**
 Alliatorius Celsus (property owner) **F132b**
 Amandio (supporter) **F49**
 Amarantus Pompeianus, S. (wine-seller) **F19, H11**
 Ancarsulena Eleutheris (fwoman) **E40**
 Ancarsulenus Philadelphus, P. (fman) **E40**
 Aninius, P. (Ilvir) **B13**
 Aninius Fortunatus, Cn. (stallholder) **H99**
 Annaeus Capito, C. (soldier) **H90**
 Annius Agathemerus, L. (businessman) **H18**
 Annius Gallus, Appius (cos 67) **H64**
 Annius Mammianus Rufus, L. (Herc. quinq.) **D63**
 Anteros (slave) **E77**
 Anteros (slave) **F153**
 Anteros (*min Aug*) **E47**
 Antiochus (slave) **E88**
 Antistia Methe (benefactor) **E15**
 Antistius Primigenius (husband of above) **E15**
 Antistius Vetus, L. (cos 55) **H106**
 Antistius Vetus, Camerinus (*praetor* at Rome) **H57**

Antonia Augusta (mother of Emp. Claudius) **F128**
 Antonius Rufus, M. (Herc. councillor) **G2**
 Apelles Mus (imperial slave) **D127, D128**
 Appuleius Proculus, L. (Herc. litigant) **G30**
 Aprilis of Capua (sign-writer) **D13**
 Apronius Caesianus (cos 39) **E49**
 Aquila (19C entrepreneur) **D10**
 Arcaeus Arellianus Caledus, N. (Ilvir) **H98b**
 Arditi (19C archaeologist) **E13**
 Arellius Graecus, A. (*min Aug.*) **F138**
 Arrius Antoninus, Cn. (cos 69) **H65**
 Arrius Diomedes, M. (fman) **F154**
 Arrius Inventus, Messius (*min Aug*) **E42**
 Arruntius Aquila, M. (cos 66) **G4, H53**
 Artorius Primus, M. (fman architect) **D55**
 Asinius Marcellus, M. (cos 54) **H103–5**
 Astus (slave glad.) **D37**
 Astylus (supporter) **F40**
 Ateius Capito, C. (aed. cand.) **F26**
 Ateleius Merc[...] Sex. (Herc. fman) **F89**
 Aterius Felix (wine-dealer) **H9**
 Atilius (schoolboy) **H76**
 Atilius Lupercus **H132b**
 Atinius Crin[...] L. (Herc. fman) **F89**
 Atinius, Maras (Oscan aedile) **A13, A20**
 Attice (prostitute) **D116**
 Atticus (slave glad.) **D37**
 Attilius, M. (free-born glad.) **D32, D33**
 Attulius Celer, T. (Ilvir) **D2a, D2b**
 Augustus (emperor 31 BC–AD 14) **B27**
 as Divus (god) **F122, F124, F126, F127, F134, F136, F137**
 (Octavian), **D56–9, F93b, F118**
 Ausidius Montanus, L. (assistant to provincial governor) **F110**
 Avianius Flaccus Pontianus, L. (Ilvir) **F86**

Balbus (supporter) **F35**
 Barcha, N. (Ilvir cand.) **E23**
 Bebryx (slave glad.) **D36a** note
 Betutius Niger, L. (soldier) **H91**
 Biria and Biriis (supporters) **F52**
 Blattius, M. (*mag vic*) **E91**
 Brinnius, P. (Herc. fman) **F89**
 Bruttius Balbus, Q. (aed., Ilvir cand.) **E51, F9**
 Burrius Euphemus, M. (Herc. fman) **F89**

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 Caecilius Attalus, Q. (witness) **H105**
 Caecilius Dioscurides, L. (fman) **G17**
 Caecilius Felix, L. **E76b, H102**
 Caecilius Iucundus, L. (banker) **C3, E76a/b**
 wax tablets **D40a/b, H102–15**
 Caecilius Iucundus, Q. (son of banker) **F17**
 Caecilius Iucundus, Sex. (son of banker) **F17**

Caecilius Natalis, M. (litigant) **G13**
 Caecilius Philologus, A. (witness) **H111**
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 Caecilius Potitus, M. (Herc. cand.) **F85, G30**
 Caecilius Primus, M. (Herc. agent) **H57**
 Caecilius Zeno, Cn. (litigant) **G13**
 Caelius Secundus, C. (soldier) **H94**
 Caesernius Montanus, Sex. (soldier) **H93**
 Caesetius Postumus, P. (aed.) **E43**
 Caesius Martialis, L. (cos 57) **H111**
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 Calatoria Themis (Herc. litigant) **G5–10**
 Calatorius Marullus (Herc. fman) **G9**
 Calatorius Quarto, M. (Herc. notable) **D67a/b**
 Calatorius Speudon (Herc. fman) **G11**
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 Calidius Nasta, M. (worshipper) **E14**
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 Calventius Quietus, C. (*Augustalis*) **F115a/b**
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 Claudius Peirus, Ti. (Imp. fman at Herc.) **H53**
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 Clodius Flaccus, A. (IIvir) **D11, E43, H98b**
 Clodius Thrasea Paetus, P. (cos 56) **E51, H107, H109, H110**
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Cominius Primus, L. (banker) **G30, H53, H55, H64–7**
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Cornelius, A. (aed.) **B9**
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